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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 8/81)



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NATIONAL

PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED KIRILENKO SPEECHES

Moscow POLITIKA SOZIDANIYA I MIRA: IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Policy of Construction and Peace: Selected Speeches and Articles) in Russian 1980 signed to press 24 Jul 80 pp 1-4, 584-589, 665-675, 711-717, 727-737

[Annotation, introduction and selected speeches from book by Andrey Pavlovich Kirilenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Politizdat, 100,000 copies, 759 pages]

[Text] Annotation

This book by Comrade A. P. Kirilenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, contains speeches, reports and addresses he presented in our country and abroad. It also contains articles on important political and economic aspects of CPSU activity in the developed socialist society.

The book is intended for the party and economic aktiv, propagandists and a broader circle of readers with an interest in aspects of CPSU domestic and foreign policy.

Introduction: "From the Editors"

This book by Comrade A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "Politika sozidaniya i mira," covers an important stage in the author's party and state work. Most of the works it contains have been composed during the period of mature socialism, the period during which the activity of the Communist Party and the entire Soviet population has been guided by the decisions of the October (1964) Central Committee Plenum and the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses. The modern policy line worked out by the party, which meets the specifications of the developed socialist society and the changed correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of the cause of peace and socialism, has guaranteed the dynamic progress of the Soviet economy, the considerable enhancement of the well-being of the workers and a significant rise in their cultural level, the consolidation of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the population, the improvement of socialist democracy, the reinforcement of the Soviet Union's international positions and authority and the augmentation of its influence in world affairs.

The contents of this book consist mainly of reports, speeches and articles in which the author, as a member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

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raises exceedingly important sociopolitical issues. In these works, A. P. Kirilenko elucidates fundamental aspects of CPSU policy, the implementation of this policy, and current national economic objectives, primarily the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the enhancement of production efficiency, the improvement of the quality of work, the augmentation of labor productivity and the improvement of the economic mechanism, planning and administration. In this connection, he discusses the heightened creative enthusiasm of the workers, the nationwide scales and new features of socialist competition, and the increasing significance of the organizational and mass political work of party organizations, and sets forth objectives concerning the development of branches with a decisive effect on the qualitative level of the socialist economy, including power engineering, machine building and capital construction.

Several reports and addresses deal with important dates and events in the life of the party, the nation, union and autonomous republics and the activities of large labor collectives. The revolutionary, transforming role of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the policy of our party, including ethnic policy, is demonstrated in these works with the aid of facts and extremely significant examples. The information in this book attests to the greatness of the feats performed in the Soviet Land, the flourishing of socialist nationalities and their convergence, the consolidation of the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, the leading role of the working class in the development of our society, and the continuous reinforcement of the unity of the party and the people.

Kirilenko has headed CPSU delegations and party and governmental delegations in foreign countries. His speeches at congresses of fraternal parties and international solidarity rallies, connected with the fulfillment of these important missions, reflect the Leninist foreign policy line of the CPSU, its consistent internationalism and socialist humanism. They testify that our party is doing everything within its power to strengthen the unity and cooperation of the nations of the socialist community and the solidarity of the world communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces and is waging a tireless struggle to improve international relations, deepen detente and turn it into an irreversible process, a struggle for disarmament, lasting peace and international cooperation, for the national independence of peoples and for social progress.

The speeches and articles in this book clearly demonstrate our Leninist party's great role as the guiding force in Soviet society, describe the multifaceted creative activity of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo and underscore the outstanding significance of the part played by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the development of the theory and practice of scientific communism, in the elaboration and implementation of party policy and in the struggle for peace and the security of peoples.

In addition to the works making up the collection "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], published in 1976, the new book also contains many works pertaining to the author's activities in 1976-1980. The materials are presented in chronological order. Several of the works have been abridged.

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To Serve as the Party's Ideological Fighters (Speech Presented at the Sverdlovsk Higher Military-Political Tank and Artillery Institute, 26 February 1979)

Dear Comrades!

It was with great pleasure and excited feelings about my meetings and conversations with the voters of Chkalovskiy Electoral District that I accepted your invitation. I have wanted to meet the collective of your military-political institute for a long time. Today this opportunity has presented itself.

First of all, on behalf of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and marshall of the Soviet Union, let me extend to you and all of the servicemen of the Red Banner Ural'sk Military District his sincere greetings and wishes for great success in the performance of your important duties.

When I worked in Sverdlovsk, I was a member of the military council of the Ural'sk Military District and I took part in solving various problems connected with the activities of military units and companies. At that time, when we investigated aspects of the training and indoctrination of servicemen, we were often confronted by the need for special, more thorough professional training for political personnel.

In 1967 the party Central Committee took steps to improve party and political work in the army and navy, including the adoption of a decree on the creation of a network of higher military and political institutes. That was more than 10 years ago. We can now say with deep pleasure that these military-political academic institutions have gained a firm foothold and are supplying the armed forces with political workers of officer rank who have been excellently trained in the ideological-theoretical and military respects.

The political worker in today's army is the heir to the glorious traditions of the civil war commissars and the political workers of the Great Patriotic War and is passing on these traditions. Their chief weapon was passionate party speech, reinforced for selfless personal examples in combat. This is how the political workers became the heart and soul of the armed forces.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, who served as a military commissar throughout the war, from the very first days to the last triumphant volleys, has given us an extremely eloquent and thorough description of the role of army and navy political workers as active spokesmen for party policy, as the mentors and educators of Soviet servicemen.

Of course, you all remember the affection with which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev discusses political workers in his book "Malaya zemlya." "If we consider the fact," he writes in this book, "that the fighting spirit of the troops was always regarded as the most important factor of troop staunchness, then we realize that it was the political worker who was entrusted with the sharpest weapon in the war years. He hardened the hearts and souls of the fighters; without him, neither tanks nor guns nor planes could have brought us victory."

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The CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Leonid Il'ich himself attach great significance to party political work in the army and navy. It is through communists, through the party political workers, that the party actually implements its policy in the armed forces. I would like to stress the fact that political workers have honorably lived up to these high hopes!

Our meeting today with the instructors, commanders, political workers and students of the institute is taking place at the same time that the preparations for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet are being completed. The election campaign is proceeding in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm on the part of the Soviet people and is demonstrating the monolithic solidarity of our people around their own communist party. The Soviet people totally support party policy, which expresses their vital interests, the interests of communist construction and guaranteed lasting peace on earth. The party Central Committee's address to the voters states that the years since the last elections have been filled with outstanding events in the life of our nation. The 25th CPSU Congress took place, a new constitution was adopted, and the nation triumphantly celebrated the 60th anniversary of Great October.

The party policy line, as defined by the 25th congress, is being consistently implemented and is having productive results. Great progress has been made in the development of the socialist economy, science and technology, education and culture. The nation has taken an important step in the construction of communism.

Whereas the capitalist world is still incapable of escaping the most severe economic crisis of the postwar period and is experiencing the exacerbation of social conflicts, the growth of unemployment and inflation, our country is consistently and constantly moving ahead.

Industrial production in 1974-1978 was 1.4 times as great as during the previous 5 years. A tremendous amount of work is being performed to solve problems in agricultural development. You know that the largest grain harvest in all our years of farming was gathered in 1978.

Economic growth has been accompanied by a rise in the level of public well-being. Since the last elections, real per capita income has risen 20 percent, the average worker's wage has risen and pension security has improved. Consider these figures: In just the last 5 years, 54 million people have moved to new living quarters! This is equivalent to the population of a state as large as France.

When the new Constitution of the USSR went into effect, this marked the further improvement of our society's sociopolitical system, the reinforcement and development of socialist democracy and the expansion of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. The role played by our great Communist Party in society's development rose to an even higher level.

No matter how our opponents in the West perfect their slander about "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries, the Soviet people are well aware that democracy in our country is democracy for the workers and that Soviet government is government of the people and for the people.

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Suffice it to say that more than half of the deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest body of government authority, are now workers and kolkhoz members, and a third of them are women. Workers and kolkhoz members, writers and engineers, academicians and soldiers, representatives of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the nation work together to manage government affairs. This is one of the most distinct signs of true democracy.

Comrades! The years between the elections have been filled with energetic and productive activity by the party, Central Committee, CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally to safeguard the peace and security of people and to deepen the process of international detente. We have significant progress in this area.

Our nation's international position is now stronger than ever before. The foreign policy of the USSR is approved and supported by all progressive forces on the planet. It is in the class interest of the international proletariat and it assists national liberation movements and all those who are fighting against imperialism and reaction.

But we must not forget, comrades, that we are living at a time of complex and contradictory international events, involving the enemies of peace as well as its supporters. Although the balance of power in the world arena is constantly changing, and in favor of socialism, people are still not safeguarded against provocations on the part of aggressive and reactionary forces. The course of past events has shown that reactionary circles of imperialism, as well as the ruling clique in China, have not abandoned their attempts to escalate international tension. They are stubbornly opposing the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and other nations of the socialist community, they are trying to undermine detente and escalate the arms race and they are increasing military spending.

You are certainly aware that the U.S. military budget rose from 106 billion dollars in 1976 to 130 billion in 1979, and a budget of 136 billion is planned for the next fiscal year. In the last 5 years the military expenditures of the NATO countries have doubled.

As we know, on 17 February, Chinese ruling circles ordered an armed invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The long-suffering Vietnamese land is once again experiencing the roar of battle, bloodshed and death.

Our people unanimously support their government's announcement of the Soviet Union's resolute demand for a stop to this shameless aggression and the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnamese territory. All progressive people are heaping shame upon the Beijing rulers who have now gone too far and are declaring their solidarity with the just cause of the Vietnamese people. The irate voice of the people can be heard loudly throughout the world: "Hands off socialist Vietnam!"

China's attack on Vietnam once again demonstrated the degree of irresponsibility with which Beijing regards the fate of the world and the criminal ease with which the Chinese leadership begins firing its weapons. In line with its expansionist, hegemonistic policy, it is building up the Chinese Armed Forces, partially with the aid of imperialism, is playing up to the United States and the aggressive

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NATO bloc and is trying to promote some kind of "united front" of all reactionary and aggressive forces against the socialist countries, primarily the USSR, and, in essence, against the entire great cause of mankind's social progress.

Our party and the fraternal parties of the nations of the socialist community are naturally drawing the necessary conclusions from dangerous international developments of this type. In their persistent fight for deeper international detente, the cessation of the arms race and disarmament, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies are taking the necessary steps to maintain their defensive capability on the proper level.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are constantly concerned with the improvement of our valiant armed forces. "Our party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "will do everything within its power to ensure that the glorious armed forces of the Soviet Union will continue to possess everything they require to perform their responsible duty of serving as a guard of the Soviet people's peaceful labor and a stronghold of world peace."¹

You know that in the postwar period the army and navy have been provided with what is now already the third generation of weapons and combat equipment. The Soviet State and our people have generously given their energy and resources to provide our armed forces with everything necessary. There is no question that our soldiers will always be provided with modern weapons and equipment and, if necessary, will use them skillfully on the battlefield.

The Soviet Army is strong, and this strength naturally is not simply due to first-class weapons and military equipment. It is armed with another truly formidable weapon. This weapon is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, a high moral sense and each serviceman's profound awareness of his own personal responsibility for the safety of his socialist fatherland.

The Soviet fighter is distinguished by a high degree of awareness and unlimited loyalty to the party and people. He knows very well why he must master the martial arts and why he must be ready at any moment to follow the orders of his motherland.

To prepare young people for service in the army, we do a great deal even before they enter combat formations. Nevertheless, most of the work to develop the young person as a fighter and defender of the motherland is performed during his term of army service. The training and indoctrination of soldiers is primarily organized by commanders and political workers.

Your institute is expected to train political workers meeting today's requirements, and I have been informed that the institute's charges who are already working with the troops are successfully performing their assigned duties. Most graduates begin serving directly in subunits where the actual training and indoctrination of soldiers and sergeants takes place.

Army training does not consist merely of instruction in the martial arts. In the army, our young people acquire the latest technical knowledge and practical skills,

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], p 83.

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they gain the ability to overcome difficulties and they undergo excellent training in moral and political tempering, organization and discipline. All of this helps them later, after their army service, to work successfully in various fields of economic and cultural construction and to take a leading position in this work.

Comrades! The political worker certainly must have a great deal of knowledge and ability to stay ahead of his duties at all times. It is a difficult task to work with people and indoctrinate them. This is, we could say, both a science and an art. What has always distinguished the party worker, especially the party political worker in the armed forces? Above all, the deepest ideological conviction, close contact with the people, close adherence to party principles, integrity and selflessness.

The main method used by the party political worker in his work is the method of persuasion. The ability to persuade people to follow him and come to him is an important guarantee of success. The deciding role here is played by the personal example set by the political worker, his party zeal and adherence to principle, and along with this, his sensitivity and responsiveness to subordinates and his ability to understand them, win their affection and come to their aid when necessary. It is extremely important for a political worker to establish real contact with an individual, to be able, as they say, to look into the heart of a soldier.

In accordance with the instructions and recommendations set forth by L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the November (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, concrete proposals are now being prepared for the further improvement of ideological and political indoctrination. There is no question that army political workers, who are always quick to respond to the appeals and decisions of their Leninist party, will take an active part in the implementation of these proposals.

Allow me to express my certainty that the teachers, political commanders and party organization of the institute will continue to work productively in the training of political workers who are capable of honorably performing the responsible duties assigned to them by the party.

I congratulate you with all my heart on the 61st anniversary of our valiant Armed Forces, which was recently celebrated triumphantly by the entire nation!

Dear Comrades, I wish you good health and continued success in your military work for the good of our great motherland!

(Comrade A. P. Kirilenko's speech was interrupted more than once by prolonged applause.)

For Heightened Organization and Work of Better Quality in Capital Construction
(Speech Presented at a CPSU Central Committee Conference on Capital Construction,
18 January 1980)

Comrades!

Our party and the Soviet people have entered the most important period in the implementation of 25th CPSU Congress decisions. The year of 1980 has begun--the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the year of active preparations for the 26th party congress.

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The current year is distinctive and significant because it will sum up the results of the Soviet people's 5 years of labor in national economic development and it will be the point of departure for further constructive work to build a material and technical base for communism in the coming 11th Five-Year Plan.

This conference has been convened for the examination of the results of 1979 and the discussion of measures to ensure the fulfillment of the plan for capital construction and the start-up of capacities in 1980, as well as measures to accelerate their incorporation, in light of the decisions of the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the statements and conclusions set forth in the speech presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the plenum.

We know how thoroughly L. I. Brezhnev analyzed the state of affairs in capital construction at the plenum and how much attention he gave this matter. And this is understandable. Capital construction is one of the most important spheres of our economy. It is of deciding significance in the development of all branches of the national economy, in the enhancement of public well-being and in the reinforcement of national defense.

In terms of construction scales, the Soviet Union is ahead of all other countries in the world. In the past 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, construction has absorbed more than 500 billion rubles in capital investments, and around 1,000 large industrial enterprises have been opened for operations. A substantial percentage of our fixed capital has been remodeled and technically re-equipped. More than 420 million square meters of living area and many schools, hospitals and pre-school establishments have been built.

A substantial construction program was carried out in 1979. State capital investments totaled 115 billion rubles, and fixed capital worth 105 billion rubles was put in operation. In heavy industry, for example, new capacities were established for the production of more than 10 million kilowatts of electric power, the extraction of around 31 million tons of iron ore and 19 million tons of coal, the smelting of 1.5 million tons of steel, the production of 16 million tons of mineral fertilizers and 7 million tons of ammonia, and the initial refining of 24 million tons of petroleum. Almost 10,000 kilometers of oil and gas pipelines were laid, and the assignment for the construction and electrification of railroads was completed.

In machine building, planned capacities for the production of electric engines, combines, metal-cutting tools, metallurgical equipment and excavators were put in operation. In light industry and the food industry, all of the planned spinning and weaving production units and capacities for the processing of meat and milk began operating.

Among the new production facilities that were built, special mention could be made of the unique hydraulic units at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the turbogenerators at the Irklinskaya and Surgutskaya GRES's, the first section of Atomash, and large facilities for oil refining at the Groznyy Plant, for the production of ammonia in Grodno, Tol'yatti and Gorlovka, for the production of mineral fertilizers at the Pridonskoy Chemical Plant and for the extraction and processing of asbestos in Kiyembay.

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The construction work on the nation's largest poultry factory, in Khabarovsk, was completed far ahead of schedule. Agriculture was the recipient of new animal husbandry complexes for raising almost 90,000 head of cattle and 650,000 hogs, and many poultry factories for meat and egg production. Elevators with a capacity of more than 300 million tons were built.

Many construction collectives working on major national economic projects were commended highly for their labor in messages from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. More than 7,500 builders were awarded orders and medals and 18 builders were honored with the distinguished title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

We can happily say that builders were given a great deal of assistance by party organs. The union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms discuss construction problems at plenums and bureau meetings. They reinforce their decisions with purposeful organizational and mass political work to mobilize all builders for the fulfillment of assignments and socialist commitments. Party committees give construction organizations real assistance in enlisting the services of workers from industrial enterprises and pay attention to the everyday concerns of builders.

I

When we speak of positive features, we must also quite frankly admit that the general state of affairs in capital construction is still not completely satisfactory and is cause for serious worry. In 1979 the plan for the incorporation of capital investments was fulfilled by only 98 percent. Construction ministries were unable to keep up with the priority project program and the plan for contracting operations. In spite of their assurances, the administrators of many ministries, both construction ministries and client ministries, and even of several party organs, did not make enough of an effort to fulfill the national economic plan and complete construction projects that are absolutely essential to economic development. The national economy did not receive sizeable capacities for the production of many types of industrial commodities.

In 1979 Gosplan listed the priority projects of primary importance to the state. Gosplan and Gossnab then announced that ministries, despite certain known difficulties with supplies and personnel, had all of the necessary material and technical resources to ensure the completion of these projects. Many of them, however, have still not been completed. The elimination of these "tail-ends," unfortunately, usually takes many months. It would obviously be difficult for ministers and party committee secretaries to explain the objective reasons for these serious omissions.

When the plan for 1979 was ratified, the number of major projects was limited so that the efforts and attention of builders could be concentrated to the maximum on the attainment of the most important national economic objectives. There were less projects under special supervision than there had been the year before. This meant that the heads of ministries and local party organs had to be more aware of the importance of these projects to the national economy and make a greater effort to ensure the completion of each of them. Unfortunately, this did not happen. The USSR Ministry of the Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises (Comrade N. V. Goldin), the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction (Comrade A. M. Tokarev), the

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USSR Ministry of Construction (Comrade G. A. Karavayev), the USSR Ministry of Rural Construction, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of the Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises and the Ministry of Medium Machine Building did not ensure the completion of many major projects.

Much of the blame for the nonfulfillment of the start-up plan must also be assumed by client ministries and the machine-building ministries which were supposed to supply equipment but were unable to quickly solve many problems connected with the guaranteed normal progression of construction work. In many cases and in many locations, party organs did not take adequate measures. For example, the Mariyskaya ASSR and Vinnitskaya, Gur'yevskaya and Kaluzhskaya oblasts had only one important project each, but they were not completed.

The proper conclusions must be drawn from these facts. Plans for the construction of facilities of primary state importance, whether they are new projects or projects underway, must be unconditionally fulfilled and must be completed on schedule or even ahead of schedule.

The CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly informed economic and party organs of the particular importance of projects being built on a compensatory basis. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointedly criticized shortcomings in the construction of such projects at the November CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The elimination of these shortcomings and the better organization of construction work on such sites should be given primary attention.

The principal way of improving the entire construction industry consists in the concentration of capital investments and the reduction of volumes of incomplete construction, which burden our economy. The above-norm volume of incomplete construction did not decrease during the 10th Five-Year Plan, and it actually increased. This is due to serious delays in the completion of start-up assignments and is related to the large quantity of new projects. There were more than 40,000 projects involving production facilities in 1979, and around 10,000 were new construction projects. The USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy began work on many new projects that year.

At the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it was stressed that the dissipation and partial loss of capital investments and material resources were not due solely to errors in planning. This is also a result of the assignment of excessive priority to local projects and obviously arbitrary practices. Just as in the past, too much attention is being given to the construction of administrative, amusement and sports buildings and facilities and cultural centers. According to Stroybank data, almost 2,500 such facilities were built in 1979, at a cost of over 5.5 billion rubles. In some cities, sports centers and movie and concert halls are being built at a cost of 12 million rubles or more each. It is obvious that all sense of proportion has been lost here.

It is imperative that USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosstroy, union republic councils of ministers, ministries and party organs investigate these matters and take a stricter approach to the authorization of such construction projects. In view of the present difficulties in construction, it would obviously be wise to authorize only the construction of the few administrative, recreational, sports and other facilities that are absolutely necessary at the present time.

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The level of state, planning and fulfillment discipline is still not high enough in capital construction. Each person should draw the proper conclusions from this and thoroughly recognize the fact that the situation cannot be corrected without better organization and discipline and a stronger sense of personal responsibility.

In the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, builders will have sizeable and difficult tasks to perform. They must make full use of 119 billion rubles in state capital investments, and 70 percent of the sum in priority projects. Fixed capital valued at more than 114 billion rubles must be put in operation. Capital investments in ferrous metallurgy will be 11 percent greater in 1980 than in 1979, in non-ferrous metallurgy they will be more than 15 percent greater, and in the chemical industry they will be 25 percent greater. In light industry, construction and installation work will increase more than 1.5-fold.

The CPSU Central Committee is giving special attention to the development of the fuel and energy base and the growth of oil and gas production. The construction of ferrous metallurgy enterprises and the development of the ore base of this branch will entail a great deal of work. Substantial assignments have been set in connection with the enlargement of capacities in machine building, light industry, the food industry and agriculture. The plan for 1980 envisages the construction of residences with a total area of 109 million square meters.

The completion of this intensive construction program will require excellent organization and precisely regulated work on construction sites. The practice of prolonging the commencement and development of work on priority projects must be stopped. The necessary resources must be concentrated without delay and work must progress at full speed on these sites.

The main objective is still the completion of production facilities and all projects on schedule. This is the chief indicator in the assessment of the activities of all areas of construction. From the standpoint of both the present and the future, it is absolutely essential that the start-up of capacities and facilities be accomplished according to plan and on a regular basis.

It will be impossible to arrange for the correct organization of work, the elimination of idle time, the augmentation of labor productivity, the efficient use of construction machines and devices and the improvement of the quality of construction without the timely and complete provision of all construction sites with materials and equipment. USSR Gosstsnab must improve the work of sales, assembly and territorial organizations, increase the responsibility of their administrators and establish strict control over the timely shipment of material and technical resources and equipment to construction sites. Everything that the state allocates must be turned over to builders on schedule and in full. In this connection, it is extremely important for transport workers to avoid delays in shipments of construction freight. Railroadmen have a particularly important part to play in this process. They must respond quickly and efficiently to the demands of builders.

The efforts of builders, installation workers, economic managers and party organs must be focused on the quick completion of the construction and start-up of facilities carried over from the previous year. There must be no repetition of past errors, in which the start-up of many virtually complete facilities was postponed until the second half of the year or even until the next year.

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Party committees and ministries must consider the possibility of moving up the deadlines for the completion of projects--not only projects carried over from the previous year, but also extremely important projects envisaged in the plan for the current year. The objective here is to regularize the completion of projects throughout the year.

It is extremely important to raise the level of economic work in construction. New ways of improving the economic mechanism must be utilized more energetically, as well as the experience of leading collectives and the achievements of science and technology. This would provide considerable opportunity to enhance the impact of construction work and attain better final results. All of these matters are discussed in the well-known decree adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers in July 1979.

The provision of builders with planning and technical documents, the reinforcement of the construction industry base, the elevation of its technical standards, the reduction of overhead costs and the improvement of the quality of work will be of considerable importance in the overall improvement of construction work.

II

The better use of new production facilities could be an important avenue of Soviet economic progress. The value of fixed productive assets in the nation now exceeds a trillion rubles. Given these colossal scales, each percentage of improvement in the use of capacities and each additional kopeck earned per ruble of invested capital will give the state additional profits and products worth millions of rubles. Conversely, any delay in the incorporation of new capacities will lead to huge losses, give rise to imbalances and shortages, impede the accumulation of the necessary reserves and limit our progress.

In other words, the better use of existing capacities and the quicker incorporation of new ones will heighten the impact of capital investments and clearly reflect the level of work and the attitudes of ministries and departments toward the use of new items of material value.

There are many telling examples of cases in which efficiently organized collective work by contracting ministries and client ministries, with the active assistance of local party and soviet organs, led to the startup and successful incorporation of large production facilities and the most sophisticated complexes on schedule. Throughout the nation as a whole, however, existing capacities and, in particular, new ones are not always used satisfactorily. There are cases in which the tremendous effort and resources invested in the construction of new enterprises do not produce the anticipated results for a long time for one reason or another. For some ministries, the volume of incomplete production resulting from the unsatisfactory use of existing enterprises annually exceeds the planned volume of new capacities. This is nothing other than an intolerable waste of state resources.

The CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly informed the administrators of ministries, departments and local party organs of the need to take efficient and effective measures to correct this abnormal situation. Unfortunately, in a number of branches there has not been any perceptible change for the better as yet. In the

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USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, for example, capacities for the extraction and concentration of iron ore and several concentration combines are being incorporated poorly, and the incorporation of new steel mills and foundries is taking too long. The necessary order does not exist in the use of capacities at many enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. For example, a large ammonia production installation which was completed 2 years ago is still being used at only half-capacity. The same is true of the capacities erected for the production of complete fertilizer at the Azot Association in Rovno. Capacities for mineral fertilizer production are far from fully incorporated.

The USSR Ministry of Light Industry has raised the question of building new enterprises for consumer goods production and enlarging existing ones. On the whole, this is a justifiable proposal, stemming from the decisions of our party. But the ministry should carefully investigate the use of existing capacities because the situation here is far from good. The incorporation of capacities is already far behind schedule at dozens of enterprises. Several facilities for the production of yarn, roofing materials and other items, which opened for operations in previous years, are still working at only half-capacity. This also applies to capacities for the production of chinaware.

Some heads of ministries and departments and local party and soviet organs have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the criticism that has repeatedly been voiced at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with the use of capacities and equipment. They have evidently reconciled themselves to existing shortcomings and signs of mismanagement. It is now fairly common for ministries and local party organs to solemnly report the start-up of capacities and then to make no effort to ensure their quick and total incorporation, and this greatly harms the national economy.

Another significant shortcoming is the fact that some ministries, departments and administrators of enterprises and organizations pay little attention to the training of personnel for new production units and do not arrange for the timely establishment of the necessary housing, cultural and consumer conditions. This also has a negative effect on the work and delays the incorporation of capacities.

The matter is also complicated by serious discrepancies in plans for the incorporation of capacities and the interconnection between them. As a result, new enterprises are not supplied with the necessary crude resources, other materials and accessories. This is not simply a matter of concern for USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstab, which should envisage intersectorial coordination, but also for the ministries themselves. There are many examples in which important capacities have remained idle due to the absence of crude resources which should be supplied by enterprises of the same department.

Much of the blame for shortcomings in the use of new production capacities must be shouldered by enterprises of machine-building ministries. Newly constructed facilities are often supplied with substandard equipment that requires lengthy repairs and adjustments. Unfortunately, there are still many cases involving incomplete deliveries of technological equipment.

The heads of all ministries and departments and local party and soviet organs should make a thorough investigation of the factors impeding the full use of each

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new facility and must elaborate and implement effective measures to ensure that these facilities operate at full capacity more quickly.

Given the present, considerably complicated international situation, even more attention must be paid to questions of capital construction, the start-up of capacities and their incorporation. Imperialist forces, especially the American Carter Administration, have recently embarked openly on the sharp exacerbation of international relations. In the hope of deteriorating the state of domestic affairs in the Soviet Union, diminishing the international influence of the USSR and interfering with the fulfillment of our constructive plans, American imperialists have broken contracts for the delivery of equipment and technology, are setting up various obstacles to impede the work of our merchant fleet, and so forth.

There is no question that all of these hostile plans will fail. As L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his responses to the questions of a PRAVDA correspondent, "the Soviet people possess sufficient opportunity to live and work in peace, carry out their plans and enhance their well-being."¹

The Communist Party and the workers of our nation have always made the appropriate response to the intrigues of class enemies and have intensified their labors to strengthen the economic and defensive might of our nation. Builders are in the lead in this work. There is no question that the collectives of construction organizations will redouble their efforts to attain their objectives under the present conditions of international tension.

III

In connection with the manpower shortage in construction, party and economic administrators should give special attention to the augmentation of labor productivity. Ministries and party obkoms and gorkoms must keep this matter under constant supervision.

In 1979 the CPSU Central Committee and the government adopted decrees on the increased production of mechanized instruments, on the further development of panel residential construction and on the reinforcement of the material and technical base of construction organizations. The implementation of the measures envisaged in these decrees will increase output and reduce labor expenditures in construction.

But the most important method of heightening labor productivity is the better organization of work on construction sites and the incorporation of industrial methods in construction.

The necessary attention must also be given to the reduction of personnel turnover on construction sites. The main thing here is to improve working conditions. In construction it is exceptionally important to establish a permanent skilled labor force. In January 1979 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree "On Measures for Further Improvement in the Training of Skilled Personnel and the Establishment of a Permanent Labor Force in Construction." Recently the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU adopted a decree "On the Further Reinforcement of Labor Discipline and the Reduction of

1. Brezhnev, L. I., "Responses to the Questions of a PRAVDA Correspondent," Moscow, 1980, p 12.

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Personnel Turnover in the National Economy." The heads of ministries and party organizations must implement these decisions in their entirety and, on this basis, launch a campaign to establish permanent labor collectives and reinforce labor and production discipline on construction sites.

Whenever it is necessary to determine correct methods and solve new problems, we turn to past experience. Progressive experience is our collective and priceless property. Its extensive use helps us to move ahead more quickly and confidently.

In this connection, we should consider the experience of the Bashkirskaya Party Obkom, which maintains constant control over all priority projects and requires detailed information on the state of affairs from all clients and contractors. It has seen to it that each construction brigade has an annual assignment, and this introduces absolute clarity into the competition for the reduction of construction periods and helps to ensure that all large priority capacities envisaged in the plan are put in operation on schedule.

Builders are also working successfully in Saratovskaya Oblast, where the party obkom has done much to reinforce the leading role of communists and encourage more active participation by party groups in decisive areas of priority construction. Construction and installation workers here are assisted by industrial enterprises in a well-planned and orderly manner.

The Lipetskaya Party Obkom is conducting considerable organizational work in the construction sphere. The establishment of excellent production and consumer conditions on each construction site has become the rule in this oblast. Even on large construction sites, where more than 10,000 people are concentrated, each worker can eat and rest in peace during his lunch hour. It is not surprising that the work is going better here and that the rate of personnel turnover is much lower than in many other places.

A great deal of valuable experience in the party management of capital construction and the incorporation of capacities has been accumulated by the Sverdlovskaya, Moscow, Ryazanskaya, Ivanovskaya, Donetskaya and Odesskaya party obkoms and party committees in several other oblasts and republics. Their experience testifies that the correct organization of the work and the establishment of the necessary conditions for highly productive labor depend primarily on concrete organizational work in labor collectives and active mass political work by party organizations.

The central committees of union republic communist parties, party kraykoms and obkoms and all party and economic managers in areas of new construction must study positive experience thoroughly and utilize it everywhere to accelerate the construction and incorporation of production capacities and facilities. In line with the demands of the November CPSU Central Committee Plenum, party organs must guarantee unrelenting control over the course of construction work and organize the precise verification of the fulfillment of assignments by builders.

Labor collectives, responding to the appeal of the party Central Committee, have launched socialist competition for a fitting tribute to the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and have taken on substantial socialist commitments. It is the duty of party organizations and economic managers to do everything within their power to support the patriotic initiatives of labor collectives, establish the

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proper conditions for the fulfillment of these commitments, wage a struggle, with adherence to party principles, for the careful use of each kilogram of metal, cement and fuel and each cubic meter of wood, employ brigade accountability and other progressive methods of labor organization more boldly and promote counter plans to speed up the completion of priority projects and the incorporation of new capacities.

There is no question that republic, kray and oblast party and soviet organizations, ministries and departments and all collectives of builders, installers and operators will display determination, energy and persistence in the fulfillment of plans for capital construction, will greet the 26th congress of our party with new outstanding achievements and will reliably guarantee the successful operation of the national economy in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Heightening the Effectiveness of the Production and Use of Metal--An Important National Economic Objective (Speech Presented at a Conference of Heads of Ministries and Departments, Production Associations, Enterprises and Scientific Research Institutes on the Efficient Production and Use of Metal, 15 May 1980)

Comrades! We have gathered here today to plan ways of considerably heightening the efficiency with which metal is used. The attainment of this objective will constitute an important feature of the implementation of our party's line of national economic intensification. The party Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expect planning, economic and party organs to do everything within their power so that definite steps can be taken in this direction from the very beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

As you know, our nation is the world leader in ferrous metal production. In 1979 we produced 149 million tons of steel and 119 million tons of ferrous rolled metals and steel pipe, which was approximately 1.6 times as great as the production volume of, for instance, 15 years ago.

Despite these sizeable production volumes, the situation with regard to the national economic supply of metal is still fairly tense. At the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that "metallurgy and machine building are still matters of particular concern. Despite the tremendous scales of metal production, there is still not enough of it."¹ He stressed that the reasons for this were the excessively slow introduction of fundamental qualitative changes in metallurgy itself, delays in the mastery of new technological processes in the main branches in which metal is used, and the practice in some locations of wasting metal, storing it in unsatisfactory conditions and using it for other than its designated purpose.

The quantity of metal wasted at metallurgical plants and in machine building, metal processing and construction is still too great. A resolute struggle must be waged for the efficient and economical use of metal. Otherwise, even in spite of the constantly increasing volumes of metal production, the national economy will suffer from a shortage of metal. It is no secret that the shortage of metal is already

1. Brezhnev, L. I., "Speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 27 November 1979," Moscow, 1979, p 13.

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to blame for the incomplete use of capacities at several enterprises of machine building, the construction industry and some other branches.

In the interest of the more efficient use of metal, the work to improve the structure of rolled metal production should be intensified. The output of economical, progressive types of metal products still does not meet the present requirements of the national economy. This applies above all to structural sheet metal, rolled metal products with anticorrosion coatings, several brands of low-alloy steel, curved structural sections and highly precise structural shapes. Due to the non-fulfillment of plans for the production of economical types of metal products by several enterprises of ferrous metallurgy, the metal conservation assignment in 1980 was underfulfilled by approximately 2 million tons.

Experience has shown that the production of economical structural sections can only be augmented as a result of concerted work by machine builders and metallurgists, on the basis of direct and long-term economic contacts. This is the basis for the cooperation of metallurgical enterprises such as, for example, the Cherepovets and Chelyabinsk plants and Leningrad's Krasnyy Vyborzhets Associations, with large machine-building plants, such as the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, the Volgograd Tractor Plant and Leningrad's Elektrosila Plant. This cooperation is producing good results. But USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosnab have not always assisted in its development.

Equipment for the continuous casting of steel, which conserves up to 12 percent more metal than the ingot casting method, is being introduced too slowly in ferrous metallurgy. In 1980 only 11 percent of the total output of smelted metal had been produced by this method. The output of thermally reinforced metal products must be increased, as this will produce a substantial savings in the national economy.

The development of powder metallurgy is of fundamental significance in metal conservation. This would make it possible to introduce a technology for the virtually waste-free manufacture of many machine-building parts and instruments, to restore worn parts and to accomplish the surface reinforcement of items to increase their service life. As yet, however, we are producing only around one-third of the powder we need.

In the interest of the accelerated development of powder metallurgy in the 11th Five-Year Plan, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a comprehensive decree in 1979, whose fulfillment is to be under the constant and unremitting control of planning, economic and party organs.

Machine building and metal processing use large quantities of rolled ferrous metals. These branches absorb around 40 percent of the rolled metal produced in the nation. This indicates how much responsibility the administrators, labor collectives and engineering offices of these branches must assume in the reduction of metal expenditures and the conservation of metal.

As yet, however, there has been no real attempt to solve these problems. Up to 22 percent of all the rolled metal they use ends up in the scrap heap. What is more, the absolute weight of waste metal has even increased since 1965. Half of this waste is chip.

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Due to the nonobservance of the norms set for reduced expenditures of rolled metal products in 1978, overexpenditures of metal in machine building totaled 280,000 tons. The greatest deviations from the norm were committed by enterprises of the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, and the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building.

To a certain degree, this occurs because metallurgists do not always provide enterprises with the full assortment of rolled metal products they have ordered. Nonetheless, overexpenditures are largely a result of shortcomings in the machine builders' own work. It is difficult to understand how the ministers and boards of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, Ministry of the Automotive Industry and Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building could have accepted a metal use coefficient at enterprises under their jurisdiction that was not only below the norm, but even lower than it was in 1971. Why did these ministries--and they were not the only ones--not ensure the completion of 10th Five-Year Plan assignments regarding the reduction of rolled metal expenditure norms?

Only a less exacting approach can explain, for example, why the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building conserved only 9,000 tons of rolled metal in 1979 instead of the 17,000 tons specified in the conservation assignment. This also applies to several other enterprises of the same ministry, including the Pavlodar Tractor Plant, the Lozo Mechanical Forge and the Taganrog Combine Plant. The situation is not much better at many enterprises in other branches of machine building. Modern low-waste technology, which is essentially the major means of enhancing the effectiveness of metal use, is being introduced too slowly at the plants.

We cannot agree with the economic managers who imply that the introduction of this technology will depend wholly on the acquisition of new equipment. A great deal can also be achieved with existing tools and machinery, particularly if they are modernized, equipped with special attachments and so forth. But this will require initiative, a creative approach, ingenuity and a talent for efficiency. Economic and party organs must give special attention to the improvement of stockpiling operations in machine building. In the forges of some enterprises, much of the stock is still being manufactured by means of smith forging, and in foundries the stock is often prepared by primitive methods in sand casts. How can the importance of using the precision casting method everywhere be overlooked?

Sectorial scientific research and design organizations have an important role to play in the conservation of metal. Many of them, however, are still not doing much in this field. Largely inefficient technical designs are often still used when new machines and mechanisms are being developed. Cast iron and steel still prevail in the structures of many types of equipment instead of welded parts.

In other words, the tremendous possibilities of reducing metal requirements in machine building by improving the design of machines are not being used sufficiently. Many enterprises are still producing excessively heavy tractors, overhead cranes, motor vehicles, forging and pressing equipment, excavators, diesel locomotives and some other types of machinery. This makes us wonder what happened to the leading

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role of the head institutes of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, Ministry of the Automotive Industry, Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building and Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and to the guiding strength of the scientists, specialists and party organizations of these institutes in ensuring the high level of manufactured equipment.

Naturally, we have many enterprises and institutes which are taking a creative approach to the problem of metal conservation and are having respectable results. For example, the collective of the All-Union Scientific Research, Planning and Design Institute of Metallurgy Machinery, headed by Academician A. I. Tselikov, working in conjunction with designers from the Ural Machine-Building Plant, the Novokramatorsk and Zhdanov plants and other plants, reduced the weight of many metallurgical machines and assemblies by an average of 17 percent and improved their quality. Intensive work is being performed at the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Likhachev to introduce low-waste technology.

The need for the more efficient use of metal is an equally acute problem in the sphere of capital construction, which annually absorbs more than 18 million tons of rolled metal and 11 million tons of steel pipe. It is true that rolled metal expenditures per 1 million rubles of construction and installation work have decreased slightly over the last 10 years. Nonetheless, construction ministries are still not adhering to the norm and are permitting considerable overexpenditures of metal. This attests to the absence of a highly exacting approach to the use of metal in the collectives of these ministries. Almost nowhere is the careful warehousing and storage of metal ensured. Rusted rolled metal products and defective reinforced concrete structures can be seen lying around on many construction sites.

Metal losses in construction begin with the elaboration of construction norms and plans. Structural design methods are being improved too slowly, and plans often call for unjustified reserve strength, which increases the weight of metal structures. Comrades N. P. Mel'nikov and K. V. Mikhaylov, the directors of the head institutes of USSR Gosstroy who are here with us today, must give this matter their attention.

It should also be noted that tens of thousands of tons of reinforcement bar are annually wasted due to the failure to supply construction enterprises with the required assortment of metal. The heads of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work should be more demanding in regard to the observance of rolled metal conservation regulations at enterprises under their jurisdiction. Unfortunately, some of this ministry's organizations have still not abandoned the attempt to make structures heavier and, consequently, more expensive. For this reason, additional expenditures of rolled metal for these structures, according to the most conservative estimates, annually total at least 250,000 tons.

To date, USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work have not ensured a full workload for enterprises specializing in the production of light-weight metal structures and have thereby overlooked one of the most substantial reserves of metal conservation.

The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy should provide capital construction with larger quantities of economical metal sections and high-strength rolled metal.

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These products now account for an unjustifiably small proportion of the total quantity of metal used by builders. If just 1.5-2 times as much of these products were to be used in construction, this would save, according to expert estimates, around 250,000 tons of rolled metal a year.

The struggle against rust must be resolutely intensified. According to available data, losses of steel due to corrosion are now equivalent to 10-15 percent of the annual steel output. Corrosion-related losses are greatest in the petroleum, gas, petrochemical and chemical industries, the merchant marine and railway transport. The national economy's annual expenditures on protective measures and on minor and major repairs connected with metal corrosion amount to billions of rubles.

The struggle against this great evil calls for a group of effective measures. As we know, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology has been ordered to organize this work. The committee should be more active in solving this problem.

A matter of common concern in many branches, particularly machine building and construction, is the need to use various metal substitutes, primarily polymer materials.

The impact of using these substitutes is quite impressive. We know that 1 ton of polymer pipe can replace 4 tons of steel pipe. What is more, plastic pipe lasts approximately twice as long. It is just as effective to use metal substitutes in machinery designs and in the construction of buildings and installations. Unfortunately, we still do not have enough plastic to use it extensively for this purpose. But even existing resources of plastic and other materials of this type can and should be used much more effectively.

It would be wise to stress that what I have said about heightening the effectiveness of the production and use of ferrous metals applies to nonferrous metals as well. The problems here are approximately the same as in ferrous metallurgy and in branches using nonferrous metals.

Comrades! The conservation of metal and its efficient use constitute a major national economic objective. This should be the focus of the efforts of all administrative and planning organs, party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and labor collectives.

The principal role, quite understandably, must be played by industrial ministries and state committees--USSR Gosplan, the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology, USSR Gosstroy and USSR Gosstnab. The successful outcome of this work will depend on the operational level of the heads of ministries and departments and on their persistence in the implementation of decisions.

Heightening the effectiveness of the production and use of ferrous and nonferrous metals will be a difficult task, requiring thorough consideration, large-scale technical and organizational measures and improvements in planning, supply and administration. Many heads of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations, however, do not always assess the results of their work in this direction objectively, often underestimate the urgency of the need to conserve metal, and do not make use of existing reserves.

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We have many perfected technical designs and structural plans which could be used to great benefit within a relatively short period of time and at a low cost. These opportunities must be utilized more fully in the interest of further national economic progress.

The planning of the technical and economic indicators of metal production and utilization requires improvement. The system of economic incentives for the manufacture of progressive types of metal products also requires improvement.

Proposals aimed at the more efficient production and use of metal must be studied and considered by central planning and economic organs, ministries and departments in their daily work and when short-range and long-range plans are being drawn up for the economic and social development of our nation.

Party organizations have been called upon to lead the struggle for the efficient use of metal. They must display their organizational and guiding strength more energetically in this sphere. The party committees of ministries, scientific research institutes and design bureaus must delve deeper and more thoroughly into the activities of the central administrative staff of ministries, scientific workers, designers and specialists, must energetically support their creative plans for the development of new equipment and technology and must enlist the services of a large group of production innovators and efficiency experts in this work.

It is important to arrange for effective socialist competition by the collectives of enterprises of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building, metal processing and capital construction for excellent final results in the production and use of metal.

The union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms and gorkoms must be more exacting in their instructions to economic managers and party organizations of production associations, enterprises, scientific research institutes and project planning and design organizations in connection with the institution of concrete and effective measures to reduce expenditures of metal during its production and utilization, the introduction of low-waste technology and the dissemination of progressive experience.

The Mammoth Kama Motor Vehicle Plant Reaches New Frontiers (Speech Presented at a Conference of the Party and Economic Aktiv in Naberezhnyye Chelny, 16 June 1980)

Dear Comrades!

This is not the first time I have been to the construction sites and shops of the mammoth Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, and each time I have sincerely shared your joy in the dramatic changes that are taking place here. Not long ago, the construction panorama on the banks of the Kama was impressive only by virtue of the scales of the work that was yet to be performed. Today you are already approaching its completion. And a look at the buildings that are so full of life and at the efficiently operating assembly lines suggests that this was always the case. It is a happy thought that the mammoth plant will soon be operating at full capacity.

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There are many distinct milestones in the biography of the KamAZ [Kama Motor Vehicle Plant]. There is no question, however, that the most memorable of them were the first peg hammered in by builders, the first completed building and, naturally, the birth of the first motor vehicle. This event was noteworthy in itself. It was particularly memorable because this valuable gift, in which the will, energy and professional skills of thousands of workers were embodied, was presented to the Soviet people just prior to the beginning of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The appearance of Kama's trucks in the capital's Red Square on 23 February 1976 was a fitting and tangible progress report from the workers of the automotive industry to their socialist homeland. The sincere congratulations and gratitude expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, when the first section of the complex started operating became a guiding star for builders, installers and vehicle plant workers in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev have always kept an eye on the KamAZ and displayed concern for the participants in the heroic construction project on the Kama and for the development of the enterprise and the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny. Leonid Il'ich sends you builders, workers, engineering and technical personnel and employees, all of you who have participated in the construction of the Kama motor vehicle complex, his warm and heartfelt greetings and his wishes for your successful arrival at the final frontiers of this work.

The construction of the KamAZ is a vivid reflection of the strength of the developed socialist economy. The scales, rates and high organizational level of the construction work have never been witnessed before in our nation or anywhere else. It is precisely this kind of work--intense and highly effective work--that the Soviet people have been called upon to perform by the party. V. I. Lenin felt that the main purpose of economic construction was the heightened productivity and impact of labor.

The 1970's--the years during which the KamAZ was built--were marked by the steady growth of our nation's economic, scientific and technical potential. The redirection of the economy into the channel of intensive development, the heightening of effectiveness, the improvement of quality, and the emphasis on the final results of economic activity have produced results. National economic successes have made it possible to implement, according to plan, the party line of solving major social problems and raising the public standard of living. Over the last 10 years, the real income of all population strata has risen considerably, sales of consumer goods have increased, and 108 million people have acquired better housing.

Communists are not satisfied with this, however. The November (1979) CPSU Central Plenum, which analyzed the results of national economic development in depth, pointed out the main reason for existing shortcomings and defects in the economy. This reason is our unfortunate failure to move as far ahead as specified in the plan for the last 5 years to heighten the effectiveness of production and improve the quality of work. The elimination of defects and shortcomings is our primary objective. Its attainment, as you yourselves realize, will depend directly on the improvement of administrative activity and the reinforcement of labor discipline at each enterprise and in each work position.

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Of course, we have experienced objective difficulties. In recent years, in particular, our efforts have been greatly frustrated by the weather. Nonetheless, we must say in all honesty that a great deal depends on us, on our ability to overcome difficulties and find the best possible solution. This is probably the principal issue today.

When he addressed the November Central Committee Plenum and when he spoke to the voters of Moscow's Baumanskiy District, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev demonstrated that the resolution of economic problems had to be approached from the broad positions of communist construction, with a view to the indissoluble ties binding the economy to the entire system of social relations. The party is persistently and energetically promoting its current economic policy of consistent improvement in administration on all levels, the perfection of the economic mechanism, the heightening of responsibility and the reinforcement of discipline. This applies as much to shops, sections and brigades as to ministries and associations. As always, the CPSU is paying exceptional attention to the initiatives of the masses, the elevation of the communist consciousness and the development of socialist competition.

Party and governmental decrees on the improvement of the economic mechanism, on the reinforcement of labor discipline and the reduction of personnel turnover, and on the further improvement of ideological and political indoctrination present a comprehensive program for the resolution of urgent socioeconomic problems. We are pleased that labor collectives and all Soviet people have responded to these important documents with great understanding and profound interest. This will guarantee their successful implementation.

There is an entire group of urgent national economic problems, but I would like to concentrate on the transport problem. As you remember, at the Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that the transport situation must be improved as soon as possible. He mentioned specific ways of attaining this goal: "We must work out a long-range comprehensive program for the development of transportation, taking in the best achievements of scientific and technical thought. This program should cover all aspects of the development and interaction of all types of transport. It should focus on the modernization of railroads, the quicker growth of pipeline, river and motor vehicle transport and the mechanization of materials handling operations."¹

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of KamAZ in the resolution of the transport problem and in the development of our economy. When the mammoth Kama plant is operating at full capacity, the freight-carrying capacity of the annual motor vehicle output will increase 1.5-fold in the nation! This means that the Kama heroes will assume responsibility for much of the freight that is now shipped on the railroads, which are quite overloaded at the present time. The structure of the motor vehicle park will simultaneously be improved. In particular, the output of trucks with diesel engines will triple. According to estimates, this will save around 10 million tons of fuel a year. In other words, the vehicle park will not only undergo quantitative enlargement, but also qualitative transformation.

It is already difficult to picture the highways of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries without the huge trucks and trailers that have come off

1. Brezhnev, L. I., "Speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 27 November 1979," p 10.

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the KamAZ assembly lines. Transport workers have already commended the KamAZ vehicles for their fuel efficiency, easy maneuverability, driving comfort, solicitously equipped driver's seats and economical spare parts.

It is important that the KamAZ began to operate at a profit a year ahead of schedule. Its workers deserve high commendation for their efforts to conserve crude resources and other materials, particularly rolled metal products. Their endeavors to substitute plastic for metal in some vehicle parts are commendable. This demonstrates their conscientious approach to their work and their correct reliance on progressive techniques and technology. This work must be continued. This was the message of the recently adopted CPSU Central Committee decree aimed at the more efficient use of metal.

Another problem is the need to conserve fuel and electric power. The national economic importance of this matter was fully reflected in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's statement that the conservation of fuel and energy would continue to be an important statewide objective regardless of the speed with which we develop power engineering.

The level of the work that is now being performed to find and utilize reserves for the conservation of fuel and electric and thermal energy at enterprises and organizations is still not keeping up with our requirements. The state of affairs in this area and the means of overcoming shortcomings were discussed in detail at a recent conference convened by the CPSU Central Committee for power engineering construction workers, the workers of power engineering enterprises and power machine building enterprises and representatives of scientific research institutes.

The instruction to conserve energy also applies directly to you, all the workers of the KamAZ. You are major consumers of energy and you manufacture a product with a considerable effect on total expenditures of fuel. The development of increasingly economical engines is of great importance to the nation because its highways are traversed by millions of freight vehicles.

Comrades! The Kama Motor Vehicle Plant is known to the entire world. Naturally, recognition is not automatically forthcoming. It is earned through action, and through action alone. It is significant that for the last 3 years in a row, this young enterprise has been awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for its excellent results in unionwide socialist competition and its successful fulfillment of plans for economic and social development, and that the name of the enterprise was inscribed on the unionwide honor roll at the USSR All-Union Exhibit of National Economic Achievements in 1979.

The KamAZ is renowned for its workers--masters of their craft and guardsmen of the labor front. I have been informed that 350 leading production workers were awarded honorary Lenin Certificates for their early fulfillment of five-year-plan assignments in commemoration of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. In other words, you have good examples to follow, you have models to emulate.

The brigade of heat specialists in the foundry, headed by G. F. Pavlov, is renowned throughout KamAZ and beyond the plant. This brigade completed its five-year-plan assignment by the time of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's

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birth. The brigade of fitters in the assembly plant, headed by Sh. Kh. Khusnutdinov, and many, many other brigades are performing excellent work.

I would like to express the warmest and most sincere congratulations to the young workers here, who have been eloquently termed the starter engine of the KamAZ. It is wonderful that tens of thousands of young men and women from the Leninist Komsomol have found their true calling on the construction sites and in the shops of the KamAZ. They have learned to operate complex automated equipment and have acquired admirable patriotic characteristics--the characteristics of builders and fighters for our common cause.

The KamAZ construction project vividly and cogently reflected the principles of fraternal cooperation and mutual understanding by all nationalities and ethnic groups in the nation--the great attribute of the socialist society.

Each person who contributed in any way to the erection of this unique mammoth automotive complex can be proud of this. This was not only a contribution to a unique construction project, but also to the history of our industry and the entire Nation of Soviets. The party sincerely appreciates your work and is certain that the labor traditions laid down here along with the foundation of the plant will multiply. Numerous trials lie ahead. The labor feat on the Kama, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described your work, will continue.

Now the KamAZ workers have to take a new and important frontier--they must bring the capacity of the automotive complex up to 150,000 heavy freight vehicles a year. Their patriotic desire to commemorate the 26th CPSU Congress with the completion of the second section of KamAZ is vivid evidence of the political maturity of these workers and their profound understanding of their civic duty.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers completely supported this initiative and adopted a decree "On Additional Measures To Complete the Construction of the Enterprises of the Kama Association for the Production of Heavy Freight Vehicles" on 12 June 1980. In accordance with this decree, the builders will be given considerable assistance: Additional allocations, material resources and equipment will be supplied, and thousands of workers in all construction fields will be transferred here.

Comrades! The day I arrived in Naberezhnyye Chelny I met with the administrators of construction and installation organizations and the KamAZ. The meeting was attended by First Secretary R. M. Musin of the Tatarskaya Party Obkom, CPSU Central Committee Section Chief V. S. Frolov, Ministers V. N. Polyakov and V. V. Bakin, Gosnab First Deputy Chairman V. N. Ksintaris, First Secretary R. K. Belyayev of the party gorkom and the heads of several ministries and departments. There was a thorough exchange of views on the most important problems connected with the completion of the construction of the mammoth automotive complex on the banks of the Kama.

I then toured the plants and construction sites of the complex and spoke with workers, foremen and specialists. During the course of these meetings and conversations, Construction Chief Ye. N. Batenchuk, KamAZ General Director L. B. Vasil'yev, Chief Yu. M. Gol'dberg of the administration of installation organizations and complex plant directors declared on behalf of their collectives that

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the massive commitments taken on by these labor collectives would be unconditionally fulfilled.

At the same time, it is obvious that much remains to be done if the second section of the KamAZ is to be completed and turned over for operations by the beginning of the 26th CPSU Congress. You yourselves are well aware of how your work is progressing, of where you have stayed ahead of schedule and of where you have allowed delays, and you are naturally drawing the proper conclusions for your work.

I would like to tell you about the thoughts that ran through my mind when I was touring the facilities and when I spoke with workers and specialists.

In my opinion, labor collectives must now focus their attention and efforts on the completion of the gravel processing factory and the thermogalvanizing building, and on the start-up of the capacities of the forge and the hardware, diesel and auto assembly plants. I will not conceal my great disappointment with the delays in the construction of consumer facilities. I think that Comrades Batenchuk and Vasil'yev, and the directors of complex plants, should change their attitude toward these facilities, which are of primary significance. After all, this concerns the daily life and working conditions of personnel. And concern for the individual is the most important duty of each administrator. I hope that plant collectives will help builders to erect these consumer facilities and will realize that this is in their vital interest.

A great deal of work--and rapid work--will be required in the manufacture and installation of technological equipment. You of course know that most of the equipment used in the construction of the first section of KamAZ was imported and that this involved transactions with many foreign firms. The second section of KamAZ is being established mainly with Soviet equipment. The machine tools and automatic flowlines designed by our specialists and manufactured in our plants--the Moscow Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze, the Minsk Automatic Flowline Plant, the Ryazan' Machine Tool Plant and others--have proved to be excellent and, as I have been told, are reliable and highly productive.

By the end of the year, our machine-building enterprises are to manufacture around 800 pieces of technological equipment and deliver them to the KamAZ, including 54 automatic flowlines, 580 specialized and multipurpose machine tools and forging and pressing machinery. It is a matter of honor for machine-building collectives to manufacture this technological equipment and deliver it to the KamAZ in time to allow the KamAZ workers to fulfill their commitments and comply with the above-mentioned decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the government.

In the months to come, the KamAZ collective will have to work with organizations of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work to install around 3,200 machine tools, machines and mechanisms. This is an extremely important and complex organizational and technical job. In terms of scales, it approaches the work performed when the first section of the plant was started up, when construction and installation operations valued at over a million rubles were completed in a day.

The constant augmentation of capacities will call for the accelerated modernization of molding lines in the foundry, the increased production of spare parts for technological equipment and the improvement of instrument quality.

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The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On Additional Measures To Complete the Construction of Enterprises of the Kama Association for the Production of Heavy Freight Vehicles" orders Kamgesenergostroy [Kama Administration of the Construction of Gas and Petroleum Industrial Facilities and Power Engineering Units] to complete additional construction and installation operations valued at 12 million rubles in the next 7 months, and organizations of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work to perform 10 million rubles' worth of operations in this time. This work must start without delay.

This will require the fuller use of the great reserves and abundant experience you possess. It seems to me, for example, that the administrators of the Kama complex and the Tatarskaya Oblast Party Committee should quickly and efficiently send construction organizations the workers they lack, before the arrival of the additional manpower envisaged in the decree.

It is also extremely important for the Naberezhnyye Chelny party organization to take additional steps to raise the level of organizational and political work with builders and automotive plant workers and give them more assistance in the accomplishment of the tasks facing them.

I have been informed of many valuable initiatives taken by outstanding production workers and the best construction and installation brigades to heighten operational efficiency and improve the quality of work. These proposals are now being implemented widely in industrial and residential construction. They include the proposal of U. K. Naurbiyev, leader of the scraper operator brigade and holder of the Order of Lenin, concerning the institution of an exclusive brigade contract for excavation work. The widespread adoption of this proposal will ensure the more efficient organization of the labor of machine operators.

The initiative of N. T. Abdulin and S. A. Khanmurzin, construction brigade leaders and holders of the Order of Lenin, and others who called upon all builders and installers to perform shock labor to complete the second section of the KamAZ by the beginning of the 26th CPSU Congress, must be given all-round support.

The names of production innovators are well known on the construction sites and in the republic--Hero of Socialist Labor V. P. Filimonov, member of the Central Auditing Committee of the CPSU; R. S. Sabirzyanov, 25th CPSU Congress delegate and housing construction combine assembly line brigade leader; K. M. Al'chikov, Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet deputy and comprehensive brigade leader; R. K. Ziganshina, head of a finishing brigade; and many others.

Let us salute the honor and glory of these outstanding production leaders!

Comrades! The party Central Committee has faith in the inexhaustible creative powers of the workers and specialists of the Kama complex. Everything now depends on the precise organization of labor, the coordination of the efforts of all construction site and plant workers, and uninterrupted material and technical supply operations.

When we discuss all of these indisputably excellent past achievements, we cannot ignore shortcomings. Construction administrators have been unable as yet to provide for uninterrupted deliveries of mortar and concrete to the construction sites

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or the efficient use of all construction machines, mechanisms and transport vehicles. In addition, suppliers of reinforced concrete and metal structures must be held to stricter account for violations of delivery schedules.

A collective of thousands of highly skilled workers and specialists has been established at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant. This collective is capable of accomplishing new and difficult tasks. One of these, and it is an extremely important one, is to fully incorporate all new capacities as quickly as possible. All that has been planned must be accomplished. During this process, the quality of products, the reliability, durability and economy of vehicles, cannot be forgotten for a moment.

You are producing modern motor vehicles. Nonetheless, your vehicles have their weak spots, notably the so-called "dust erosion" of their engines. After all, the roads traversed by the KamAZ vehicles, especially the agricultural vehicles, are mainly dirt roads and are thick with dust in the summer. Therefore, plant designers have something to puzzle over.

The "intraorganizational" KamAZ maintenance centers also require more vigorous development. The first steps in this direction have been taken, and with some success. In the Russian Federation alone, there are around 40 such centers. This kind of maintenance can ensure the better technical servicing of vehicles, the economical use of spare parts and the accumulation of valuable information for designers and technologists who are endeavoring to perfect the vehicle models.

The organization of planned repairs of technological equipment requires considerable improvement at the KamAZ. In this area, workers can rely fully on the experience of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, which is well known to all of you.

I would like to direct special attention to the need for the precise operation of auxiliary production units. More attention must be given to toolrooms and repair shops, and they must have assistance in personnel training. Production can be compared to an attacking army: With a reliable rear, the attack will be successful, but if the rear is lacking in any respect, the attack will ultimately fail. I think that all of you are well aware of this and bear it in mind.

Comrades! The party associates the resolution of economic problems with the satisfaction of the rising material and spiritual requirements of workers. Much is being done for the KamAZ workers as well. You all know this. The beautiful modern city of Naberezhnyye Chelny, with its blocks of high-rise residential buildings with all of the conveniences and its wide boulevards, has grown up on the banks of the Kama along with the plant.

When I rode through the streets of the city, I naturally compared my new impressions with my memories of previous visits to Naberezhnyye Chelny. Ten years ago, when I came here for the first time, there was no plant. In essence, there was no city either. The famed brigade of Hero of Socialist Labor V. P. Filimonov was just beginning to build the first 12-story residential building in the city.

It is impossible to look at Naberezhnyye Chelny with anything but admiration today. With each year the city changes for the better and grows more attractive. When the polytechnical institute opened, Naberezhnyye Chelny became a VUZ city. This was an extremely important and happy event.

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Unfortunately, cultural and consumer construction is still not keeping up with rapidly rising requirements. Not all parents can place their children in kindergartens or nurseries, and the schools are too crowded. The assignments set in a government decree regarding the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities have not been completed. The city party organization and the administrators of Kamgesenergostroy and the motor vehicle plant must regard housing and consumer problems as matters of primary significance. You have the resources and ability to solve these problems.

The expansion of agricultural production in the suburbs should also be given some consideration. There is no question that this will be possible. The industrial giant is capable of establishing a large auxiliary agricultural enterprise. I think that city and rayon organizations are making a serious mistake by virtually ignoring the possibility of developing pond and river fishing. You have favorable conditions for this in your rayon and, with the proper approach to the matter, you could have abundant additional fish products for public catering and trade.

Comrades! I must make some mention of the pleasant memories I have of my tour of one of the nation's largest petrochemical enterprises--Nizhnekamskneftekhim. In the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, production volumes in this association more than doubled, and large facilities for the production of rubber, ethylene, benzene and styrene began operating, as well as a station capable of refining a million tons of petroleum annually.

The achievements of the honored Nizhnekamskneftekhim collective were highly commended by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Recently Leonid Il'ich heartily congratulated all those who had participated in the establishment and mastery of new production areas. The most outstanding workers were honored with government awards.

I also saw much of interest in the shops of the tire plant. The output here is supposed to exceed 7 million tires this year. I would like to remind you that the same quantity of tires was produced by enterprises throughout the nation in 1950. With a view to the future development of the mammoth Kama plant, tire plant workers, builders and installers must complete their work on the second section of the Nizhnekamsk Tire Plant in 1980. This production unit will manufacture tires exclusively for KamAZ vehicles.

I also took a look at the construction of the Nizhnekamsk Hydroelectric Power Station. From the time of its start-up in 1979, it has added around 300 million kilowatt-hours of cheap electrical energy to the nation's central power system. The builders of this station honorably fulfilled their socialist commitments in commemoration of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and completed the third hydraulic unit ahead of schedule. Now they hope to complete two more units by the end of 1980.

Comrades! It will not be a simple task to ensure the operation of the Kama complex at full capacity by the time of the 26th CPSU Congress. But it can and must be accomplished. The city party organization and the construction site and vehicle plant party committees must now work together to develop organizational and political work in the collectives and mobilize all workers to complete this esteemed task.

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It will be necessary to heighten the responsibility of administrators for their assigned duties and evaluate their work not only in terms of plan fulfillment indicators, but also in terms of the level of discipline and the state of the moral and political climate in collectives.

The Tatarskaya Oblast and Naberezhnyye Chelny city party organizations have always been highly diligent, efficient and businesslike in the resolution of the most complex national economic problems. The Tatar communists have played an outstanding role in the construction of the Kama plant and the incorporation of its capacities and have united the huge multinational collective that erected the mammoth plant into a single labor family. It is important that, for all these years, the Tatarskaya Party Obkom has regarded the establishment of the KamAZ as an exceedingly important CPSU Central Committee order and has been carrying it out conscientiously.

Republic communists are waging an equally persistent and selfless struggle to augment the capacities of the Nizhnekamsk territorial production complex and to complete the construction of the hydroelectric power station successfully.

I wish you great success in the attainment of these important statewide objectives!

In conclusion, allow me to congratulate, with all my heart, the workers of the Tatarskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on this great occasion of its glorious 60th anniversary. Soviet Tatariya has traveled a long and glorious road in these decades. Modern industry, highly mechanized agriculture and progressive socialist culture have been established and are developing in the republic. The 60th anniversary of Soviet Tatariya is the holiday of the entire multinational family of fraternal peoples, united by friendship, mutual understanding and common intentions and goals.

I sincerely wish you and all workers in the republic continued success in your work for the good of our great homeland--the Soviet Union. I wish you good health and happiness!

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NATIONAL

SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM CHERNENKO'S NEW BOOK

Moscow VOPROSY RABOTY PARTIYNOGO I GOSUDARSTVENNOGO APPARATA in Russian (signed to press 17 Jul 80) pp 5-8, 130-131, 134, 152, 174-183, 193, 197-198, 202-203, 221-225, 230, 267-268, 271-272, 299-302, 309-311, 320-321, 328-335, 350-351, 397-398

[Translation of excerpts from book by K.U. Chernenko "Questions of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus", Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 120,000 copies, 398 copies]

[Excerpts]

Annotation

The book is devoted to questions of an improvement in the work of the party and state machinery at various stages of the CPSU's activity. A significant place is assigned an analysis of the style and forms and methods of the work of the machinery under the conditions of the developed socialist society.

The book is intended for the broad party and soviet aktiv and students of party schools and courses.

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I would like to begin the book with an explanation: why and to what end it was published and for whom it is intended.

It is well known that the CPSU Central Committee and the party committees locally, engaged profoundly and consistently in the strengthening and refinement of the system of control of Soviet society, pay great attention to the work of the party machinery, the state and economic control authorities and also the public organizations. Questions connected with this problem were extensively illustrated and qualitatively newly developed in the documents of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the decisions of plenums and the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee and the works of L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The growth of the party's leading role in implementation of the magnificent program of the economic and social transformation of Soviet society is organically connected with the extended and creative development of the Leninist work style and the heightened level of activity and precision of the interaction of all elements of leadership and management.

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Based on Leninist principles and traditions, the work of the party authorities under current conditions is characterized by versatility, variety of forms and wealth of content. The party machinery serves as an important element providing for the party authorities' ties to the communists and all the working people and is an essential instrument of party leadership of all the affairs of society.

Many party, soviet and management workers are engaged in a study of the processes of the control of society and an analysis of the activity of the party and state machinery. These issues are increasingly frequently becoming the subject of discussion at theoretical and scientific-practical conferences.

Problems of a further refinement in the style and forms and methods of work of the party machinery have been examined at all all-union party worker conferences conducted by the CPSU Central Committee in recent years. L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed such conferences in 1974 and 1976. His comments, advice and recommendations lent impetus to the new approach to the activity of the party machinery and were of fundamental significance for the further creative development and refinement of its work style.

The conferees adduced interesting examples and shared their experience. Their proposals aimed at a further improvement in the work of the party and state machinery were examined in the CPSU Central Committee. The necessary measures were adopted in respect of them.

The conferences expressed the idea that certain aspects of control and the activity of the party and state machinery and their interaction in the process of leadership of society's economic and social development remain insufficiently studied and not fully illustrated. A proposal was put forward at zonal party worker conferences in 1978 for the preparation and publication of an appropriate aid which would show the historical experience and principal stages of the development and refinement of the work of the party machinery and illustrate the most important aspects of the activity of the machinery of state, which participates in the accomplishment of the tasks of communist building under the leadership of the CPSU. Wishes were also expressed for the disclosure of the experience and practice of the party machinery's activity under current conditions and of its role and place in the system of control of the society of developed socialism. The requests were motivated by the growing interest of the party and soviet workers, the broad party aktiv and the people's deputies in a discursive and consistent study of contemporary problems of control.

Such were the principal preconditions of the publication of the proposed book.

A few words about the nature of it and its tasks. It does not claim to be a textbook on the work of the party and state machinery. It is merely material which has been collated to a certain extent which may be used in day-to-day practice.

The chronological continuity of the material enables the reader to familiarize himself with the party's activity in strengthening and refining the work of the machinery.

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Of course, the book describes merely the principal, most important stages of the formation of the party machinery and the development and enrichment of the Leninist principles of its activity.

At the same time an attempt is made to describe the basic features and main directions of the development of a Leninist style of party and state work.

And, finally, the set task was to show how the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses and CPSU Central Committee plenums and the instructions and recommendations expressed in the works and speeches of L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on questions of a refinement of the work of the party and state machinery are being put into practice.

There is a broadening of the functions and a refinement of the structure and the forms and methods of the activity of the party's machinery and an increase in the significance of all its elements with the growth of its leading role in the society of developed socialism. However, none of this entails an increase in the numbers of permanent workers. At the same time there is a continuous growth in the numbers of the party aktiv, an extension of voluntary public principles in party work and a broadening of the party authorities' relations with the soviets, unions, Komsomol and other mass organizations.

The party authorities exert their influence on the work of the machinery of state and other elements of control primarily through the communists working therein. It is difficult to regard the activity of the party machinery in Soviet society in isolation and unconnected with the work of the organs of state power and economic management. Their close interaction is today an inalienable feature of the style of leadership of the party authorities. For this reason the book reflects the forms and methods of work not only of the party authorities and their machinery but also of various elements of state control, the management authorities and the public organizations.

The party's cadre policy under current conditions, the monitoring and verification of performance and work with the working people's documents and letters are illustrated in greater detail among the questions of the development and refinement of the style of work which the book examines. The reader will find pages devoted to the character of the party worker and the control machinery worker and the demands made on him by the era of mature socialism. The appearance of these pages is not fortuitous. The activity of the party machinery is organically connected with the persistent, daily inculcation of the high qualities which the modern party or soviet worker and leader of any level must possess. Party workers and real leaders are not born such and do not become such by office and title but in the process of work and by its results. The true organizers and political leaders of the masses are forged in day-to-day struggle for the new man and "for bread and steel."

A number of previously unpublished papers was used in preparation of the book. They provide an opportunity for perceiving more fully the dynamics of the growth, complication of the tasks and broadening of the functions of the party machinery. The documents incorporated in the book show how the party, with the machinery's help, pursues its political line, implements scheduled plans, collates accumulated experience and monitors the fulfillment of decisions.

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This publication is intended primarily for the broad party aktiv, propagandists and seminar and party school students. It could obviously also be used by VUZ students in study of the parts of the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state which concern the activity of the party and state machinery and also by all who are interested in this problem.

The 1936 USSR Constitution reflected the victory of the socialist system throughout the economy and the establishment of socialist ownership as the economic basis of society. It legislatively enshrined the new social structure of Soviet society. The introduction of universal, direct and equal elections to the soviets of working people's deputies with secret balloting signified cancellation of the temporary restrictions on suffrage for former exploiter elements. The democratization of the elections affected the entire system of soviets from top to bottom and was of tremendous significance for an enhancement of their role in socialist building. The USSR Constitution and the laws enacted on the basis thereof were geared to the further development of the democratic principles of society's entire political organization, a refinement of the structure of the state authorities and an improvement in their work and the forms and methods of state control as a whole.

Rallied under the leadership of the Communist Party into an indestructible bloc of communists and nonparty people, the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia demonstrated moral-political unity at the elections of the highest organs of state power of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics (1937-1938) and the local soviets of working people's deputies (1939). A considerable amount of work was performed after the elections on adjusting the activity of the newly created bodies, regulating the work of the machinery and organizing the reception of the working people with regard for the new conditions and singularities.

The mistakes and distortions connected with the Stalin personality cult did certain harm to socialist democratism and party and state building at this time. However, "despite the cult of personality and in defiance of it," the CPSU Central Committee decree of 30 June 1956 points out, "the strong initiative of the people's masses, led by the Communist Party, which was born of our system, effected its great historic cause, surmounting all obstacles on the path of building socialism. And this is the highest expression of the democratism of the Soviet socialist system. The outstanding victories of socialism in our country did not come about of their own accord. They were achieved thanks to the tremendous organizing and educational work of the party and its local organizations and thanks to the fact that the party has always raised its cadres and all communists in a spirit of fidelity of Marxism-Leninism and devotion to the cause of communism."¹

The All-Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Central Committee and the Soviet Government demanded of the party, soviet and public organizations: turn the country into a single military camp, subordinating all its forces and resources to the interests of the war; reorganize all elements of the system of control and the work of the Soviet rear and switch the entire economy onto a war footing; strengthen the Armed Forces in every way possible; develop the partisan movement on territory captured by the enemy; and reorganize all ideological-political work. "Everything now depends," the directive pointed out, "on our ability to rapidly organize ourselves and to act, without losing a minute of time and without missing a single

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opportunity in the struggle against the enemy."² The directive of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Central Committee was made the basis of the speech of I.V. Stalin, who spoke on the radio on 3 July 1941 on the instructions of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Central Committee Politburo.

In the period between the 19th and 20th congresses the party set course toward the development in every way possible of the Leninist standards of party life and principles of leadership, primarily the principle of the collective approach, liquidation of violations of legality and the strengthening of law and order and democracy. "Every worker, whatever position he may hold, must be under the party's unrelenting supervision. The party organizations must regularly check out the work of all organizations and departments and the activity of all leading workers. It is also necessary to put the activity of the MVD authorities under systematic and unrelenting supervision."³ The CPSU Central Committee strove consistently to insure that all administrative authorities of the state were put under the supervision of the party and the Soviet Government and that they exercised their functions fully in accordance with Soviet laws. The state security, judicial and public prosecutor's office authorities were thoroughly strengthened and party control over their work was restored. The party overcame the resistance of the conservative-minded workers who were clinging to outdated work methods. The activity of the soviet, union and Komsomol organizations improved and their role in the country's economic life was enhanced.

In the Central Committee's subsequent work on establishing the Leninist standards of party life and developing intraparty democracy great significance was attached to the examination by the 20th CPSU Congress (February 1956) of the question of surmounting the cult of Stalin's personality and its consequences. The congress's decision approved the work done by the party Central Committee and entrusted the Central Committee with the consistent implementation of measures providing for the complete surmounting of the cult of personality, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, the removal of its consequences in all areas of party, state and ideological work and strict realization of the standards of party life and the principles of the collective nature of party leadership formulated by the great Lenin.⁴

A scientific approach to party work is, as is known, inconceivable without well presented systematic information. There is no science without facts, and accurate, reliable facts can only be provided by well presented information. There is, perhaps, today no more prevalent concept than that of "information." At the same time there is no other concept apropos which there are so many arguments and debates and on which there are so many different viewpoints. Our times are characterized by a colossal, constantly increasing volume of information. This natural phenomenon is connected primarily with the extraordinary complication of production and all spheres of social life. The headings "Information Boom," "Information Revolution," "Information Industry" and such are everpresent in newspapers and magazines. We also frequently hear of an "information explosion," which, like a natural disaster, has allegedly descended on mankind. Bourgeois ideologists and scholars are particularly distinguished in this field.

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It is necessary to expend colossal labor to systematize the tremendous bulk of information. It is even more difficult to seek out the required information and to become familiar with it. It is no coincidence that, according to available calculations, the research assistant is capable of studying roughly one-tenth of literature being published in the world in his special field. As is evident from certain sociological studies, employees of the management machinery spend from 30 to 80 percent of their work time on work with information.

It is no exaggeration to say that information performs a tremendous role in the life of the Communist Party. It permeates its entire daily activity and helps provide for the continuous functioning of the intricate party organism and organize the precise, coordinated interaction of all its elements. Comprehensive, systematic information from top to bottom and vice versa is an essential prerequisite of the successful accomplishment of the tasks of communist building and the development of the creative activeness of the communists and all working people. Inasmuch as party activity extends to all spheres of social life information is essentially of an all-encompassing and universal nature and contains intelligence on political, socio-economic and cultural-social questions.

Synthesizing the various forms of social information, party information reflects social events, phenomena and processes through the prism of the activity of the party organizations and from the viewpoint of the practical realization of the tasks set by the party.

Lenin's propositions constitute the methodological basis of party information. As is known, V.I. Lenin inseparably linked consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism with the availability of well organized information. He pointed out repeatedly that the executive authorities should have before them a complete picture of the activity of the local organizations. The strength of the center, V.I. Lenin emphasized, lies in its solid knowledge of all the wheels and cogs of the party machine. "In order that the center may...really direct the orchestra it is essential that it be known exactly who is playing which violin where, where and how which instrument has been and is being studied, who is playing out of tune (when the music begins to grate on the ear) where and for what reason and who needs to be transferred to correct the dissonance and in what way and where to..."⁵ On the other hand, V.I. Lenin attached exceptional significance to insuring that the communists be well informed about everything occurring in the party, constantly be au courant with all its affairs and have a profound understanding of its policy. "It would be absurd to speak of democratism without publicity, and publicity, moreover, which is not confined to members of the organization,"⁶ V.I. Lenin observed.

Our party and its Leninist Central Committee pay unremitting attention to intraparty information and constantly orient the local authorities in the direction of its utmost refinement. "We must continue," L.I. Brezhnev says, "to improve intraparty information, increase its efficacy and make more extensive use of it as an instrument of leadership and a means of education and control."⁷ Guided by L.I. Brezhnev's directives and the high-principled instructions contained on this score in a number of Central Committee decrees, the party committees have done much to improve party information. These questions are constantly within their sights, are examined at congresses and conferences and plenums and bureau sessions of the party committees and are settled promptly. The quality and efficiency of information have risen.

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Better use is made of it in the accomplishment of tasks of economic and cultural building and the communist education of the working people.

Documents are a most important purveyor of party information. In the broad range of activity of the party committee there is essentially no area which is not connected with their preparation, passage and implementation. The flow of intraparty information is increasing constantly. It is entirely natural that the party committees' document turnover is also increasing constantly. The nature of the bulk of the documents is closely connected with the growth of the CPSU's leading role in communist building, the galvanization of intraparty life, the great upsurge in the production and sociopolitical activeness of the Soviet people, the variety and complexity of the tasks being accomplished and the CPSU's fruitful foreign policy activity. The local party authorities and ministries and departments submit a considerable number of proposals and recommendations to the higher party committees. A precise, scientific system of work with them is necessary to regulate the passage of the documents.

In refining the style of their activity the party committees must contribute in every way possible to the enhancement of the role of information as an effective instrument of leadership. The competence, justification and timeliness of decisions and effective supervision of how they are fulfilled in practice depend directly on how well informed the party authorities and their machinery are on this question or the other. Practice testifies that a disregard for information and a disparagement of its role and a reluctance or inability to take stock of reports about what is occurring in real life inevitably lead to subjectivism and compel people to operate blindly to a certain extent and adopt unsubstantiated decisions. And this ultimately gives rise to serious miscalculations in work.

The party committees convince themselves in practice that accurately presented information, given its skillful use, makes it possible to find the right paths and methods of solving problems which arise, surmounting difficulties and doing away with shortcomings and to purposefully collate and disseminate positive experience.

In order for information employed in party work to fully serve as an instrument of leadership and a means of control it must be objective and reliable, sufficiently complete and as current as possible.

First, about the amplitude and objectiveness of information. It must reflect reality as truly as possible, reveal the true state of affairs with the greatest amplitude and be carefully prepared and profoundly truthful in essence. "We need complete and truthful information,"⁸ V.I. Lenin taught. A lack of objectiveness embellishing reality or, on the contrary, laying it on too thickly, exaggerating shortcomings can disorient the party authorities and prompt them to adopt hasty and, sometimes, mistaken decisions. This practice could seriously harm the cause and for this reason is absolutely impermissible.

In providing the higher authorities with information certain workers, mainly of the lower levels, see it as the chief purpose to report successes in a little more detail. But they attempt to say a little less, and rapidly, about shortcomings and sometimes remain silent about them altogether. The thinking here goes roughly thus: since we ourselves are aware of the shortcomings and are taking steps to

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rectify them, there is no point reporting them to the higher authorities. This viewpoint is fundamentally mistaken. But no more correct is the attitude of comrades, representing a higher authority, as a rule, who in checking out organizations and studying the state of affairs locally concentrate attention on negative aspects and do not mention or are reluctant to mention positive phenomena and changes for the better. Frequently the report of a lower party committee at a meeting of a collective body is reminiscent of a victory report with a brief conclusion dealing with measures being adopted to put an end to existing shortcomings and an assurance of future success. Then follows the appearance of the inspectors, and everything appears in a different light. It is difficult in this situation for the party committee bureau or secretariat to make a correct evaluation of the state of affairs.

Of course, facts must be the basis of all information. But this by no means signifies that information is a mere exposition of facts and their enumeration and a dispassionate photograph of reality. A scientific, political approach to facts and a Marxist-Leninist analysis of phenomena and processes capable of providing the grounds and impetus for generalizations and the necessary conclusions are intrinsic in party information. It is important to take facts in their interconnection and reveal their essence and their causes. Generalizing means selecting from real life what is most characteristic and typical. Two extremes are still frequently encountered here. Certain information documents are an accumulation of examples, figures and facts often tendentiously selected and poorly interconnected. "In the sphere of social phenomena," V.I. Lenin warned, "there is no method more widespread and baseless than the snatching up of little individual facts and playing around with examples. Selecting examples in general does not require much effort, but the significance of this is nil or purely negative since it is entirely a matter of the historical concrete situation of individual facts. Facts, if taken in their entirety and in their connection, are not only 'stubborn' but also undoubtedly evidential. Little facts, if they are taken outside of the whole and without any connection and if they are fragmentary and arbitrary, are precisely only a plaything or something even worse."⁹

A different kind of information is also encountered in which specificity drowns in a multitude of general phrases and declarative and utterly unsupported conclusions. Here also it is fitting to recall Lenin's wise words: "...a little less general judgments and a little more facts and proven facts showing in what, under what conditions and to what extent we are progressing or are at a standstill or are in retreat."¹⁰ Information packed with factual material and simultaneously of a generalizing nature corresponds most fully to its purpose.

It is a valuable endeavor to set forth the material as laconically as possible and illustrate the heart of the matter as precisely as possible and carefully formulate conclusions. V.I. Lenin did not tolerate vagueness and indistinctness in documents and the excessive verbosity of business papers. He deemed it essential to adhere strictly in their compilation to the principle of packing great content into compressed form and writing "telegraph style" and demanded the presentation of brief, accurate information, accounts and reports. Thus, having familiarized himself with information from the People's Commissariat for Food Distribution Administration which had reached him on 26 May 1921, Vladimir Il'ich wrote to the author the very same day:

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"The same chaos of figures.

"Dry figures are controlling you, and not the other way about.

"You have given me a heap of figures, a heap of undigested raw material."11

The content and value of information is inseparably connected with its purposeful selection. Practice shows that it best performs its role when it is subordinated to the solution of the questions which are at a given moment the principal ones for the party organization and are of determining significance for its entire work. Party information is designed to show how the party organizations are implementing practical measures in respect of the accomplishment of set tasks. In order to impart to information the proper thrust and to obtain primarily the information which is particularly necessary in work the party committees, not leaving matters to take their own course, endeavor to exert a regulating influence on the influx and content of information from below. Proceeding from the impending tasks and adopted decisions or planned measures, they plan and organize the receipt of the appropriate information and determine its subject matter and forms. At the same time the party organizations struggle resolutely against the attempts which are still made in places to request as much information-reference material as possible and endeavor to reliably bar the path to the receipt of documents which are not necessary in the work.

The CPSU Central Committee sets an example of the solution of these questions. Following its experience, many union republic Communist Party central committees and kraykoms and obkoms are studying the procedure of the selection and quality of the information-reference material presented to the party authorities by republic, kray and oblast departments, establishments and organizations and gorkoms and raykoms. As an analysis conducted locally has shown, many memoranda, surveys, reports and so forth continue to be received by the Communist Party central committees, kraykoms and obkoms without having been properly selected and with unwarranted frequency. At times the workers of the party machinery display an undue proclivity for accumulating the most varied information "for all eventualities" and "for future use" and for this reason request excessively many reports, references, information and other documents from the localities. Frequently the soviet and management authorities on their own initiative send the party committees material which is of no fundamental significance or which duplicates the data of state statistical accounting. There has recently been an increase in the volume of information being received by the party authorities from production associations, enterprises and establishments. The vast flow of information is making its practical use more difficult and is diverting the party machinery from organizing work locally.

Guided by the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses and the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, the party committees are adopting measures aimed at the more careful selection of information-reference material, a reduction in its quantity and a rise in its quality. The Tul'skiy Obkom Secretariat, for example, adopted the decree "A Reduction in the Quantity and Regulation of the Presentation of Information to the Obkom." It observed that in a year the obkom received 1,500 statistical bulletins, collections of printed material, memoranda and reference items in a total volume of 130,000 sheets and a print of more than 20,000 copies from the oblast information-computer center alone. The secretariat judged it essential to considerably reduce the volume of information and made it

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the job of the oblast organization leaders to adopt a stricter approach to the selection of material forwarded to the obkom and to improve its quality in every possible way. The obkom departments were forbidden to request from the state statistical authorities supplementary data not envisaged by state accountability without the authorization of the obkom secretariat. The measures produced positive results. Information material being received by the obkom was cut by almost half. Much was done to regulate the receipt of information-reference material by the Altayskiy Kraykom and the Volgogradskiy, Gor'kovskiy, Leningradskiy, Severo-Osetinskiy, Samarkandskiy and other obkoms. It is necessary to continue this purposeful and effective work with all persistence and to regulate and reduce consistently and in planned fashion the requests for accounting data, various pieces of information and other information material primarily through a rise in their quality.

The effectiveness of information is largely determined by its timeliness. Information ages rapidly, which is perceived particularly keenly under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, which is accelerating the rhythm and pace of production and all social life to an enormous degree. Only information obtained, processed and utilized in time, when the need arises for a decision to be made, is of service. Party information is intended to respond immediately to all significant events in the life of the party and the country and in the activity of the party organizations and the labor collectives. In all instances attempts to justify the inadequate promptitude of information by the fact that the desire was, allegedly, to make it as complete as possible and to collect as much essential material as possible, thus making it somewhat late, are groundless. A delay in information, even if it possesses the highest qualitative characteristics, renders it useless and leads to unjustified expenditure and, at times, to serious losses.

In the practice of party work it is often advisable to forgo somewhat the fullness of information, within permissible limits, of course, but, on the other hand, to prepare it promptly and provide it in good time. Subsequently, if something is revealed, the higher authority may be given additional information. However, in this instance also it is necessary to display concern for the content, quality and adequacy of the information. Otherwise, it will not be of serious practical significance.

The party committees make extensive use of various sources of information: written and verbal communications from the party, soviet and management authorities and the public organizations; protocols of party conferences, party committee meetings and sessions and party and party-economic aktiv meetings; material of state statistics; workers' personal impressions of attendance at party organization meetings and meetings and talks with the communists; the working people's letters and statements; the results of sociological studies; the central and local press; and others. It is important here that there be a comprehensive approach to the use of all types of information. Only such an approach will contribute to production efficiency and make it possible to "view" as fully as possible the ongoing processes in all their complexity and variety.

The need for a refinement in the entire system of information and its increasing significance in the party's day-to-day life were reflected in the material of the 23d and subsequent CPSU Central Committee congresses, decisions of party Central Committee plenums and in a number of party documents.

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The party authorities have done much to improve the presentation of intraparty information and to enhance its significance as an instrument of party leadership and a means of education and control. It has become more regular and systematic and enables us to analyze in greater depth the state of affairs locally and to get to know people's mood and requirements better. Decisions have been adopted determining the forms, nature and sources of party information and the times of its presentation. Special informational structural subdivisions have been set up. Party machinery workers responsible for information service have been confirmed.

A path contributing to the formation of a scientific approach in the work of the party and state machinery is sociological research, whose application affords an opportunity of analyzing in greater depth the processes of economic and cultural development, studying the working people's mood and requirements, outlining more accurately and correctly the directions of further work and forestalling shortcomings. Where necessary, the results of sociological research are also purposefully used in the activity of the party and state machinery. Sociological research institutes, laboratories and groups are being set up. Definite experience has been accumulated in this field. It would be wrong, however, to exaggerate unduly the significance of sociological research and consider it the sole and universal form of insuring a scientific approach in the work of the machinery. And, furthermore, the organization of sociological research corresponds to modern requirements far from everywhere. It is frequently employed to illustrate obvious propositions and proves not to be connected with the practical activity of the party and state authorities and their machinery or subordinated to specific purposes and is conducted erratically.

The problem of the inculcation of ideological conviction and a class approach becomes even more relevant and urgent under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. The expansion of scientific contacts between capitalist and socialist countries, the joint work on scientific-technical and other problems common to all countries and the extensive exchange of scientific and cultural achievements could engender the illusion that the need for a class approach to events, phenomena and problems is receding. However, sight should not be lost of the fact that each global scientific-technical problem has a class aspect and is employed in capitalist society in the interests of the ruling class. Only by possessing strong ideological conditioning is it possible to discern the content and meaning of so-called "extra-class" problems and defend the Soviet people's interests.

Irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology is intrinsic in party-mindedness and communist moral fiber. The modern world is characterized by an exacerbation of the class struggle. International imperialism is mobilizing its forces against Marxism-Leninism, whose authority and influence is growing constantly. It is constantly resorting to increasingly subtle ideological sabotage and persistently spreading anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. It would be wrong to underestimate the attempts of imperialism's ideological offensive and the ability of the bourgeoisie and its accomplices to adapt to the conditions of the modern class struggle. The bourgeoisie is making intensive and methodical attacks on Marxist ideology. It pursues far-reaching goals: knocking the socialist states from their path or, at least, curbing the development of socialism, destroying the unity of the international communist and workers movement and weakening the national liberation forces. Extensive

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use is made to this end of various theories such as "de-ideologization," the "erosion of communist ideology," "pluralism," "convergence" and so forth. The most diverse means are employed--from open aggression through "silent," "creeping" counterrevolution, nationalism, Zionism and modern revisionism. Reaction frequently switches from frontal attacks on socialism to various maneuvers, counseling opponents of the socialist system to operate under the slogan of its "modernization," "liberalization" and "democratization" against the leading role of the communist parties and gradually replace socialist ideology with a set of fashionable bourgeois theories.

The imperialists are stepping up "psychological warfare," conducting a massed propaganda campaign against the political system of socialism and endeavoring to discredit socialist democracy. A noisy racket has been kicked up recently around the "human rights" which are allegedly violated in the socialist countries, and the myth of the "Soviet threat" is being fanned. A constant increase in political vigilance, the mobilization of all resources for the struggle against hostile ideology and the more efficient use of the opportunities for the ideological education of the masses at our disposal are required of all communists and all Soviet people.

Like no one else, V.I. Lenin was able to insure the coordination of the machinery, organize work with people, approach them, build their mutual relations correctly, win their trust, evoke their interest in a cause and mobilize their will and energy to the utmost for the fulfillment of what had been planned. The sessions of the Central Committee Politburo, the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labor and Defense conducted under V.I. Lenin's leadership were a real school of party and state efficiency and precision and coordination in work. These sessions, according to contemporaries, always began at a precisely appointed time and were organized and productive. A precise time scale for preparing and holding them was formulated at V.I. Lenin's proposal. The following time scale was established, for example, for sessions of the Council of People's Commissars:

- "1. Rapporteurs--10 minutes.
- "2. Speakers for the first time--5 minutes, for the second time--3 minutes.
- "3. No more than two speeches per person.
- "4. In the procedure one for and one against, 1 minute each.
- "5. Exceptions for special decrees of the Council of People's Commissars."12

Opening the meeting, Vladimir Il'ich read out the agenda and, following its approval, embarked on an investigation of the issues. The time scale was strictly observed. If a speaker attempted to breach it, V.I. Lenin stopped the speaker and deprived him of the right to speak, and the latter had to put his name down to speak again on the queue system. A stop was put to all attempts at negotiation at the session, and duty secretaries were put in charge of putting a stop to those speaking on individual issues.

V.I. Lenin was concerned for the businesslike efficiency, competence and vitality of the organs of collective leadership. He repeatedly gave reminders of this, particularly at the time of the creation of this collective body or the other, and

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persistently emphasized that the persons constituting this board or the other should complement one another, that is, that the shortcomings of one be compensated by the positive aspects of another. He said that if a collegial body were to be composed of people of an identical character and identical proclivities, this would damage this body.

A refinement in the organizational structure and an increase in the efficiency of management of the economy at the current stage are only possible given due attention to both principles of democratic centralism. In the plans of the development of the Soviet Union's economy a most important place is occupied by uniform centralized comprehensive programs such as, for example, the creation of the huge West Siberian oil and gas complex, the upsurge of the agricultural production of the RSFSR's non-chernozem zone and the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad. The 25th CPSU Congress named as among the most important the programs of the formation of large-scale territorial-industrial production complexes, the mechanization of manual labor, development of the nuclear power engineering base and others. The successful realization of such comprehensive programs is impossible without the precise combination of the plan-gear centralized principle with the initiative and creativity of the working people's collectives and the party organizations.

The CPSU organizes its work on the basis of undeviating observance of the Leninist standards of party life and the principle of the collective nature of leadership. This principle is multitiered and broad in content. It incorporates open business-like discussion and solution of questions of the life of the party and state, freedom of opinion, the working people's extensive creative participation in managing the affairs of the collective and society, strict and full consideration of the experience of the masses and the unity of action and will of the bodies of party and state leadership in the struggle for the fulfillment of collective decisions. A collegial approach is combined with one-man management in the forms of organizational structure of the management machinery and the methods of leadership of its activity.

The collegial approach presupposes and provides for the solution of the main questions within the sphere of competence of the party and soviet state authority by the majority vote of a certain circle of people (elected or appointed) specially empowered for this. With this form of leadership the most important questions of the life of the party organizations and economic, political and social-cultural building in the USSR are decided not by one person but collectively.

The concepts of collectiveness and collegiality are indivisible in the practice of party building. The principle of the collective nature of leadership signifies in all instances that the board elected by all communists or their representatives relies in its activity on the collective experience of the communists and the working people, constantly studies and accumulates this experience and expresses their collective will. The board is the form of organizational structure of all executive bodies of the party organizations. Collegiality is the form of concrete manifestation of the collective nature of leadership. Collegiality is the organizational-legal form of the activity of the highest organs of USSR state power--the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium and the union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and their presidiums; the local organs of state power; and the organs of state administration: the USSR Council of Ministers, the union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies and the Soviet justice organs.

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The forms and methods of collective leadership verified by the party in the course of socialist and communist building are actively employed in the activity of the organs of Soviet state administration, which extensively enlist the working people's masses in this work and in the discussion and solution of the most important problems of economic and cultural building.

One-man management presupposes a form of organizational structure of the organs of state administration and a method of leadership of their activity whereby the right of solution of the main questions which come within the organ's sphere of competence is enjoyed by one person--the leader (one-man manager). One-man management is the organizational-legal form of the activity of a number of organs of state administration, among which should be cited USSR and union and autonomous republic ministries, local soviet ispolkom departments and administrations, the administration of establishments, production associations, industrial enterprises, sovkhozes and others. One-man management, as a form of organization of the management of socialist production, is important for securing unity of will and action. V.I. Lenin regarded one-man management as a most essential condition of the correct organization of socialist production, given the broadest democracy.

At the same time it should be mentioned that a number of organs of state administration operating on the basis of the principle of one-man management have boards (ministry boards, for example) whose meetings examine the main questions of the activity of the sector and questions of the practical leadership of enterprises and organizations under their jurisdiction, the verification of performance and the selection and utilization of personnel. The board's decisions are implemented, as a rule, by the orders of the minister (who is the chairman of the board). In the event of a disagreement between the minister and the board, the minister implements his decision, reporting the disagreements which have arisen to the government, and the board members may, in turn, communicate their opinion to the government. Thus in the leadership of production in the sectors of the economy we have a combination of one-man management and collegiality. One-man management, as a method of leadership of the activity of the state authorities, does not rule out but presupposes a collective approach in the examination and comprehensive and competent discussion of the most important issues and also in the adoption of essential decisions and in organizing activity with respect to their implementation. Under socialism the interests of the persons exercising the functions of management and the direct producers of national wealth coincide. They are equally concerned to increase our country's economic might.

A struggle, which sometimes assumed a sharp political character, frequently broke out around the problem of the combination of collegiality and one-man management at the initial stages of the formation of the Soviet state. The opponents of one-man management attempted to substantiate their viewpoint with the class essence of the socialist state, which organizes its activity on the basis of the enlistment of the broadest masses in the management of affairs. They proposed unlimited collegiality in management, declaring that sole authority was incompatible with socialist democratism. These statements reflected the influence of the petit bourgeois element which was at variance with proletarian discipline and organization. In his work V.I. Lenin showed the entire groundlessness of the opponents of one-man management and taught the correct, flexible and sensible combination of collegiality and one-man management as an essential condition of the successful management of

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socialist production and as not being at variance with socialist democratism. V.I. Lenin wrote in 1918: "The masses must have the right to elect their responsible leaders. The masses must have the right to replace them and the masses must have the right to know and check each least step of their activity. The masses must have the right to nominate all worker members of the masses without exception to supervisory functions. But this does not in the least mean that the process of collective labor can remain without definite leadership, without the precise determination of the responsibility of the leader and without the strictest order created by the unity of will of the leader."¹³ In a speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Economic Councils Vladimir Il'ich emphasized: "Only collective experience, only the experience of millions can give...decisive instructions precisely because the experience of the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of the upper strata which have made history hitherto, both in landowner society and in capitalist society, is insufficient for our cause, for the cause of building socialism. We cannot make it thus precisely because we are counting on joint experience, the experience of millions of working people."¹⁴

However, the collective nature of leadership was never an end in itself in our party. If we strive for a collective approach for a collective approach's sake and expand it without limit, without regard for expediency, it will engender a lack of personal responsibility and impede the efficient solution of this problem or the other. "Collegiality is necessary for deciding the affairs of the worker-peasant state," V.I. Lenin pointed out. "But any exaggeration of collegiality and any distortion of it leading to red tape and a lack of responsibility and any conversion of collegial establishments into talking shops is the greatest evil, and we must do away with this evil as quickly as possible, at all costs, stopping short at nothing."¹⁵

Lenin's instructions that a collective, collegial approach must be accompanied by the most precise determination of the personal responsibility of each for definite, distinctly and precisely outlined work or an area of work are common knowledge. Lenin did not tolerate vagueness, which engenders lack of responsibility concealed by references to collegiality. "On each occasion," he wrote, "that even the slightest opportunity for this presents itself, collegiality should be reduced to the briefest discussion of only the most important questions in as least broad a collegium as possible, and the practical management of an establishment, enterprise, business and task should be entrusted to a single comrade known for his firmness, decisiveness, boldness and his ability to do practical work and enjoying the greatest trust."¹⁶ In the "Draft Rules Governing the Management of Soviet Enterprises" V.I. Lenin demanded of all Soviet establishments and boards that they implement the following measures:

"first, adopt a decision on the precise allocation of work and responsibility among all members of the board or officials;

"second, determine with the most complete precision the responsibility of the persons carrying out individual assignments of whatever kind, particularly those concerning the rapid and correct collection and allocation of materials and products."¹⁷

V.I. Lenin set an example of the creative application of collective forms of work and taught the personnel the combination of collegiality in the discussion of issues

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With personal responsibility in the course of fulfillment of practical decisions. More than anyone else, he was able to create a spirit of true collectiveness in work. While passionately, staunchly and persistently defending his viewpoint Lenin valued the opinion of his comrades and listened to them sympathetically. At the same time he fought decisively against the domination of commissions, which frequently concealed the lack of responsibility of certain leaders. Vladimir Il'ich said at the 11th Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Congress: "A purge of the commissions was carried out recently. There were 120 commissions. And how many proved to be necessary? Sixteen. And this was not the first purge. Instead of being responsible for one's business, submitting decisions to the Council of People's Commissars and knowing that you will be held responsible for this, they hide behind commissions. In the commissions they cannot make head nor tail of it, and nobody can sort out anything or who is responsible; all is confusion, and, ultimately, a decision is submitted in which all are responsible."¹⁸

Abiding by Lenin's instructions, the party stressed in its rules that the collective nature of leadership does not absolve the workers of personal responsibility for the assigned work. Scientific-technical progress is creating tremendous new possibilities for the development of genuinely democratic forms of management. Work which is unprecedented in scale is being performed in our country to raise the level of education and culture of the people and disseminate political and economic knowledge. The press, radio and television and a ramified network of various establishments and public organizations are being employed increasingly successfully to this end. The necessary prerequisites for insuring that the complex problems of management be intelligible to the broadest strata of the population are being broadened. "In the people's masses we are but a drop in the ocean, and we can only control when we correctly express what the people are alive to."¹⁹ This idea of Lenin's defines with the utmost precision the basis of the efficiency of the work of the party and its machinery. The CPSU guides Soviet society, but it does not control the state directly, in an administrative sense, so to speak. All power in the USSR belongs to the people in the shape of the soviets of people's deputies. Precisely for this reason exceptional significance for a constant increase in the efficiency of political leadership is attached to a constant refinement in the very rich mechanism of the party's vital ties to the popular milieu. Know the mood and cherished aspirations of the masses well and have a clear idea of what constitutes the people's mandate today--this is an immutable norm of a Leninist style of party leadership.

Our party considers it exceptionally important at the time of the preparation of most important decisions to submit drafts of its decrees for nationwide discussion and to organize an exchange of opinions in the press. Precisely such were the pre-congress discussions in the party organizations, at working people's meetings and in the newspapers. This was how the CPSU Central Committee draft "Main Directions of the Development of the USSR's Economy in 1976-1980" was discussed. This was how the draft of the USSR Constitution was discussed.

The CPSU Central Committee December (1973) Plenum and the speech thereat of L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were an important contribution to the further development of the Leninist principles of party leadership and the standards of work of the machinery. His speech raised topical questions of party work in all spheres of social activity, including the system of management.

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The style of work of certain state and management authorities was criticized in this connection. L.I. Brezhnev pointed to the impermissibility of an approach where form is put higher than substance and where certain leaders, instead of themselves deciding questions within their sphere of competence, await instructions "from above" and frequently contrive to shift their own duties off onto others. The attention of the party and soviet authorities was drawn to the struggle against phenomena which lead to bureaucratism and red tape, the cadres' heightened responsibility for the timely and businesslike solution of questions and to a reduction in the flow of paper. The plenum's decisions had a salutary effect on the activity of the machinery of the party and state authorities and were concretely embodied in the practical deeds of the party, soviet and management organizations. A consistent policy of an increase in the efficiency and quality of party leadership and of increased attention to the activity of the machinery of the party and soviet authorities was strikingly manifested in the CPSU Central Committee decree following L.I. Brezhnev's memorandum of 8 February 1974. As L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, it is necessary to establish a truly party-minded style in management work everywhere, a style incompatible with playing safe and red tape, unnecessary appeals to higher instances and an endeavor to shift responsibility onto others.

As is known, the majority of the party committee staffs is small. For this reason the result of work is directly connected with the ability of the bureau and the secretaries to correctly organize the labor of the machinery workers and skillfully allocate duties among them. We should highlight particularly the role of the instructor--a central figure of the party machinery. A constant vital link with the primary and shop party organizations, production collectives and mass public organizations, assistance to them in the implementation of party decisions and directives, the exercise of supervision and the verification of performance, collation and dissemination of the experience of party work, preparation of documents for party committee bureau meetings and plenums--such in only the most general outline is the volume of work and range of duties and concerns of the instructor. It is very important for him to discern the main aspect in his activity and not lose sight of the leading issues and the long term. After all, the instructor is primarily a political worker, organizer and educator.

Many new diverse forms, methods and means of work with the instructors, to which the more regular discussion of the practice and difficulties of the instructor's labor at meetings of the party machinery, creative seminars and scientific-practical conferences has contributed, have appeared in the party committees. The raykom and gorkom instructors are assigned primary party organizations, as a rule. Preference is given here to the production principle of their assignment, which makes it possible to take account of the type and singularities of the party organizations and the community of the tasks they perform. The gorkoms and raykoms apply the assignment of instructors not only for a certain group of party organizations but also for specific areas of party work. For example, some are engaged in questions of leadership of the public organizations, others in the collation of the practice of the preparation and holding of party meetings. As a result the instructors specialize in individual areas of the activity of the party committees, study in greater depth the theory and practice of party building and instruct the party activists in more skilled manner. A procedure has been established practically everywhere whereby the secretaries and department heads systematically notify the machinery of the state of affairs and priority tasks, undertake the special training of the instructors and drive out to the party organizations together with them.

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Constantly formulating and refining the means, forms and methods providing for the inseparable link with the masses, the party highlights among these the work of the party and state machinery with the working people's letters. Regarding letters as a form of the masses' direct participation in the running of the state and as an inexhaustible source of information on the people's life, needs and aspirations, the party preserves and multiplies the Leninist traditions of an attentive, solicitous and benevolent attitude toward the statements, requests and complaints.

History will eternally preserve examples of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's attitude toward letters--these, as he called them, "truly human documents." How he personally responded to the letters of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the verbal communications of the peasant delegates still serves as a model for all leader-communists and all workers of the party and state machinery. The working people's letters were for Lenin a most valuable source of information on the "topic of the day" and the people's sentiments and needs--information which he deemed it essential to collate and implement in political decisions. It is instructive that his historic report to the 10th congress on the replacement of the requisitioning of farm produce with a tax in kind found room for a summation of the peasant letters received in the 1920-1921 winter. Vladimir Il'ich mercilessly and persistently castigated red tape and a callous attitude toward the working people's complaints. "The least manifestation of red tape," he pointed out, "must be punished mercilessly."²⁰ He invariably took steps to formulate and introduce new, Bol'shevist rules of work with the statements, proposals and other documents received from the people's masses. Lenin saw the working people's letters not only as an important channel of extensive communications with the masses but also as a most important form of the people's effective supervision of the progress of socialist building and assistance to the party and state authorities in the running of the country. The Leninist principles and style of work with letters and complaints are of tremendous permanent theoretical and practical significance for our party. They serve as a guide for the party and state machinery.

The party has raised the work with letters to the level of a most important area of party activity. The 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses paid particularly great attention to these questions. The decrees "Improving the Work on Examining the Letters and Organizing the Reception of the Working People" (1967), "A Further Improvement in the Work With the Working People's Letters in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (1976) and others adopted by the party Central Committee were geared primarily to this. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 12 April 1968 "Procedure for Examining the Citizens' Proposals, Statements and Complaints" embodied the party principles of work with letters in legislative form.

There is no event in the life of the party or the people which is not reflected in the letters and telegrams addressed to the CPSU Central Committee. "We cannot read without profound emotion, comrades," L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 23d CPSU Congress, "these sincere messages from Soviet people, who write about their treasured thoughts and aspirations."²¹

The time which has elapsed since the 23d congress is significant for very considerable new phenomena in the work with letters and statements and in the nature and volume of the correspondence to the leading party authorities and organs of control

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from the localities. Even in the first years of implementation of the congress's decisions the party organizations and their machinery accumulated positive new experience in organization of the work with the working people's letters and complaints and an enhancement of the role and responsibility of the local party, soviet and union authorities and department and establishment leaders for their attentive and timely examination.

Considerable positive influence on the quantity and nature of the letters and statements and also on the state of work with them was exerted by the fact that the local party authorities began to display more concern for an improvement in notification of the population of topical questions of domestic and foreign policy and the activity of the public, state and management organizations. The party regards this aspect of the work of its organizations as an indispensable condition of the strengthening of the party's ties to the masses and a galvanization of their participation in running the affairs of society and the state. At the same time the more informed a person is, the fewer the unconsidered questions he has and the better he understands to where he should turn with what and what the extent of his rights and duties is.

The increase in political and production activeness and the spread of party and soviet democracy have engendered a growing stream of letters, expectations and proposals to the party authorities.

In a short time on the eve of the 24th party congress the CPSU Central Committee received more than 360,000 letters. They displayed Soviet people's increased political maturity and high sense of responsibility for the success of the general cause and their profound interest in the speediest development of our economy and culture and the pursuit of the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Stressing the significance of the fact that many thousands of letters and telegrams from communists and nonparty people had been addressed to the congress, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said: "Soviet people's kind words, their active support for party policy and their lively interest in the party's affairs--all this inspires us, imparts new strength and energy and reinforces even further our conviction that we are on the right road."²² The CPSU Central Committee general secretary also spoke about an attentive, concerned attitude toward the working people's needs and concerns, the prompt examination of their appeals and requests and about an atmosphere of benevolence and respect for man.

A constant rise in Soviet people's well-being and the increasingly full satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements were also immediately reflected in the nature of the mail. Thus in the period between the 23d and 24th congresses the working people's requests and complaints regarding pension questions received by the CPSU Central Committee declined more than 50 percent and those on questions concerning labor disputes and housing declined by almost one-third. And, furthermore, there was an appreciable change in the very contents of the Soviet citizens' personal requests. Whereas previously the statements concerning an improvement in housing conditions mainly expressed requests for a resettlement from huts and old houses, by the time in question letters concerning the allocation of individual apartments with all utilities and conveniences and nearer to the place of work or the city center were predominant. The number of statements concerning assistance in placing children in creches and nurseries, which had hitherto constituted an appreciable proportion of the total number of letters, declined to a minimum.

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The compilation for the Politburo and Secretariat of memoranda on the most typical questions contained in the working people's letters became a part of the system in the CPSU Central Committee. In the 1970's a significant number of statements and proposals was examined at sessions of the Central Committee Secretariat, and, at the behest of the Central Committee, certain questions were examined in the USSR Council of Ministers.

Thus the party committees regard work with letters as an important component of day-to-day organizing and political activity. The proposals, critical observations and advice expressed by the working people help in the work of the party committees, the preparation of various decisions and other documents and the removal of the causes of the citizens' censure. The party's strong ties to the masses and attention to their warning signals enable the party to constantly take the pulse of the country's social development and determine the emergent new trends and singularities of the development of Soviet society.

It is significant that in recent years, particularly since the 25th party congress, the CPSU Central Committee has received a large number of letters from abroad. And not only from the socialist but also from capitalist countries--the United States, France, the FRG, Japan and others--and also from developing countries. The Soviet delegation's trip to the Helsinki conference engendered a large stream of letters. A tremendous number of letters from all corners of our country and also from the FRG and Holland and Sweden and the United States was addressed to our delegation and to the head of the Soviet delegation, L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The letters, telegrams and messages sent during and after the conference expressed warm approval of Soviet foreign policy, the policy of peace. The Soviet delegation, as the initiator of this conference and the great champion of peace, was wished well and success in its work.

At an all-union conference of party workers in April 1974 L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that work with letters is not simply a matter of reading them or forwarding them to the appropriate addresses. It presupposes an in-depth analysis of the questions which the working people raise in these documents and their collation. It is important that, as in the CPSU Central Committee, the leading party and soviet authorities be systematically informed of the nature of the letters. The party teaches its machinery to adopt a solicitous and attentive approach to the work with the working people's letters and to always remember that this is not a mechanical process culminating in a bureaucratic "yes" or "no" reply but a profoundly considered systematic analysis of the requests and proposals set forth in the letters.

An important form of the strengthening of the ties to the masses and supervision of the activity of the machinery and an essential source of information on Soviet people's needs, sentiments and requirements is the reception of citizens appealing to party, soviet and other organizations. The USSR Constitution affords each citizen the right to submit proposals to the state and soviet authorities and public organizations on an improvement in their activity, criticize shortcomings in work and address complaints about the actions of officials. The number of citizens appealing to the party committees, local soviets and other organizations is growing from year to year. The questions which the working people raise at the time of the reception essentially embrace all aspects of the citizens' life, work, recreation and everyday existence.

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The party has always paid great attention to this question. It is known that, together with the letters, V.I. Lenin valued exceptionally highly direct contacts with the workers, soldiers and peasants and the proposals, observations and requests expressed at this time. V.I. Lenin taught in his speeches and talks the attitude to be adopted toward visitors and repeatedly advised the machinery workers to put themselves in the place of the plaintiff in order to understand his position. The style and nature of the reception of the working people changed under the influence of the instructions of the 24th and 25th congresses. Secretaries, department heads and their deputies, as a rule, came to hold the receptions in the party committees and their chairmen, their deputies and the secretaries in the ispolkoms. The practice, which has justified itself, of the citizens being received by the leaders of rayon, city and oblast organizations directly at the enterprises and construction sites and on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes has become widespread. In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decree on a further improvement in the work with the working people's letters in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the local party, soviet and management authorities, continuing to improve work on the reception of the working people, have begun to analyze in greater depth the questions raised in the course of the personal reception of the citizens and to strive for effective and efficient measures to remove the causes of justified complaints.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat examined the question of a further improvement in the reception of the citizens in the party, soviet and other organizations in March 1979. The adopted decree obliges the union republic Communist Party central committees, kraykoms and obkoms, ministries and public organizations and local soviet ispolkoms to adopt exhaustive measures to satisfy the working people's justified requests and complaints and to insure effective supervision of their timely examination and the solution of the questions which have been raised in their essentials. The CPSU Central Committee, the decree says, considers it impermissible for certain organization leaders not to be adopting the proper measures in fulfillment of instructions given earlier concerning the need for an improvement in the work with letters and the organization of the reception of the citizens and for them frequently to be in breach of the time periods for the examination of letters established by the law and for them to be displaying an inattentive, formal attitude toward the working people's requests and bureaucratism and red tape in the examination of complaints and proposals, the right to the submittal of which is guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. Work is as yet being performed inadequately on an analysis and collation of the working people's letters and their requests and observations expressed at personal receptions. Insufficient use is made of the data of such an analysis to elicit socially important information and to take it into consideration in the solution of current and long-term questions. It was recommended that the party and soviet authorities discuss the above decree and examine questions connected with the organization of the reception of the working people at meetings in the party organizations of establishments, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, outline and implement measures to improve the reception of the citizens, establish in all organizations and establishments a procedure which would insure for the citizens the possibility of being received at a time convenient to them and practice more extensively the reception of the working people directly at the enterprises and construction sites, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and at the place of residence.

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It has become a rule in the party to prepare all important questions of economic, social and cultural life for examination in the party bodies with the enlistment of specialists and to discuss draft documents with the participation of a wide circle of people. This, for example, is how the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat organized the preparations for and holding of the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum, which examined questions of the further development of agriculture. Several months before it began, a commission was set up at the decision of the Central Committee Politburo whose duties included the concrete elaboration of agriculture's biggest and fundamentally important problems. A large group of CPSU Central Committee members and the party-economic aktiv both in the center and locally were enlisted in this work. Scientific assistants, specialists and people directly employed in production participated in the preparation of the material. The initial drafts compiled by the commission were examined at Central Committee Politburo sessions, and not all at once, furthermore, but problem by problem. The draft decrees which had thus been worked up were then subsequently passed on for examination by the CPSU Central Committee plenum. The presentation to its participants of the essential material ahead of time enabled them to familiarize themselves in detail with all the documents submitted for discussion and to actively discuss the drafts with knowledgeability. This method of preparing and holding the CPSU Central Committee plenum made it possible to adopt truly scientifically substantiated decisions which were based on the opinion of specialists and practical workers.

The work of the CPSU Central Committee November (1978) Plenum, which examined the drafts of the State Plan of the USSR's Economic and Social Development and the USSR State Budget for 1979, proceeded in the same creative manner. Almost all members of the CPSU Central Committee were involved in the preparation of this plenum, as of the previous July plenum, to some extent or the other, a big circle of the party-economic aktiv participated and scientific assistants and specialists were also enlisted. The repeated discussion of the draft plan at an enlarged session of the USSR Council of Ministers in the presence of comrades from the localities and also in the party Central Committee Politburo with the enlistment of a number of party and management workers and scientists afforded those who spoke in the Central Committee plenum and at the USSR Supreme Soviet session an opportunity to illustrate concretely and in depth the principal and most important economic tasks and to describe how in practice the party organizations in the localities propose implementing the topics under discussion at the CPSU Central Committee November Plenum. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's speech at this plenum was an outstanding event in the life of the party and the country. It contained an in-depth critical analysis of fulfillment of 3 years of the 5-year plan, outlined the ways and means for the successful completion of the 5-year plan as a whole and determined the party's concrete tasks for the more distant future.

A marked positive change in the refinement of the style of party work and in the improvement in the activity of the party and state machinery has occurred in recent years in the party organizations of Georgia. The measures adopted by the party committees and all communists of the republic to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisskiy Gorkom have produced tangible positive results. A creative search for the most effective ways to solve important and complex economic and social questions, a scientific approach to problems of management of the economy

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and the constant, systematic enlistment of the broad party aktiv and the working people's masses in discussion of the most important political and economic tasks and the formulation of measures to perfect management are characteristic of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and many gorkoms and raykoms and their machinery today. Members and candidates of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and members of the Auditing Commission are working at full and constant load. They themselves display high activeness and creative initiative in the solution of problems of the republic's economic and cultural development, participate in the preparation and holding of report and election meetings in the primary party organizations, Central Committee plenums and meetings of the party and party-economic aktiv, head commissions and deliver reports at meetings of the working people's collectives on various political, economic and social issues. Not one important measure of social-political significance is implemented in the republic without the active participation of the elective party aktiv.

Thus it was in 1977, when the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee implemented a number of measures to increase the production of animal husbandry products. The address to all the Georgian SSR's working people "An Increase in Meat Production--Our Common Cause" analyzed the state of this most important area of agricultural production and determined the paths of the quest for unutilized potential. The situation required that the republic party organization's active members be the immediate organizer of this work locally. A draft decree of a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on this question was prepared and sent to all members of the republic party organization's central elective authorities in this connection. It was recommended that an opinion be expressed promptly on the organizational measures and forms of enlisting the entire Central Committee in this work outlined in the draft. It was decided to send to the rayons and cities groups of specialists and party, soviet and management workers headed by members and candidates of the Central Committee and members of the Communist Party's Auditing Commission. The purpose of these groups was to analyze comprehensively and in depth the farms' possibilities for an increase in the production and purchases of animal husbandry products. Groups were also formed and sent to the localities. As the results showed, their work was highly fruitful: significant unutilized potential was revealed for the production and purchases of animal husbandry products both in the public sector and on the private farms, in the cooperative organizations and at processing industry enterprises. All this made it possible to adopt pledges higher than the plan, but still practicable, for sale to the state of meat, milk, eggs and wool and increase the livestock herd. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee instructed the republic government and the departments and organizations, particularly the Georgian SSR Gosplan and the Ministry of Agriculture, to provide for the elaboration of realistic, taut plans for the production and state purchases of animal husbandry products and for the numbers of all types of livestock and poultry for the subsequent years of the 5-year plan with regard for the actual possibilities of each rayon and each farm.

Another example may be cited. A routine Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held at the start of 1980 which discussed the question "The Work of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat in 1979." It began with the debate right off inasmuch as the report on the activity of the Bureau and Secretariat had been sent out ahead of time to the members and candidates of

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the Central Committee, members of the Auditing Commission and all the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. Practically the entire republic elective party aktiv familiarized itself thoroughly and in detail with the material of the Central Committee and discussed it locally. Several thousand persons actually took part in the debate as a result of this organization of the discussion. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee received over 1,000 concrete proposals, recommendations and critical observations aimed at a refinement in the activity of the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat which are being analyzed, collated and utilized in practical work.

The systematic enlistment of members of the elective party authorities in direct organizing work has raised the authority of the elective authorities themselves, and their ties to the communists and the nonparty people have strengthened. Together with the development of democratic principles in party work this also effectively serves the cause of an increase in the workers' responsibility and the strengthening of performance discipline. For in enlisting a broad circle of activists in the solution of questions the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is at the same time increasing the demands made on them for concrete work results. The practice of the workers giving reports and briefings in the Bureau and Secretariat for this purpose has become widespread, and there is a constant search for new efficient forms of control.

The practice of the Tbilisskiy Gorkom merits attention. A gorkom plenum is preceded here, as a rule, by in-depth, advance preparatory work in which not only the party activists but also the broad working people's masses participate. The extensive publicity of the preparation of the plenums contributes to this to a considerable extent. Thus right at the start of 1978 even the communists and all working people of the city knew that the gorkom was planning to conduct a plenum in the first quarter which would discuss the question of an improvement in party leadership of the selection, placement and training of personnel in the light of the requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress. In the second quarter of the year it was planned to conduct a plenum with the agenda "The Work of the City's Party Organizations To Further Refine and Enhance the Efficiency of a Comprehensive Approach to Ideological Education in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." It was proposed to examine at the gorkom plenum planned for the third quarter the report of the Tbilisskiy Gorispolkom on the state of and measures to improve work on refining the upkeep of the city's housing. The city's communists' and working people's knowledgeability about upcoming gorkom plenums gives them a chance to express their opinion and submit proposals on the essence of the questions raised. These proposals are studied by special commissions for preparing the plenum material. One of the commissions' tasks is insuring a businesslike exchange of opinions in the press. Extensive publicity evokes the great interest of the city's communists and the entire public. Hundreds of working people's letters are received in this connection by the gorkom and the newspaper editorial offices. They are all attentively studied.

The party machinery workers convince themselves in practice that publicity and systematic objective information from above and below forestall unconsidered, subjectivist decisions, create favorable conditions for the formulation of substantiated and practicable recommendations and move to the forefront that which at a given moment is of most concern to the communists and the entire community. Information centers which collect, systematize and analyze the data being received by the party committees on questions of organizational-party and ideological work and also of

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party leadership of the economy which are fitted out with modern office equipment are operating successfully in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Tbilisskiy, Kutaisskiy, Rustavskiy and a number of other gorkoms and raykoms.

The collated information is skillfully used by the party committee workers in personal contacts with the communists and nonparty people, during meetings and creative exchanges of opinions with the party activists, in various forms of special political and economic training and so forth. The practice of many party committees confirms that the procedure of the collection, processing and analysis of information which has evolved and the system of the use of its results which has been formulated is enhancing the standard of work of the party machinery workers, helping them distinguish between what is important in work and what is secondary and developing a creative attitude toward the assigned task.

In 1979 a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum examined the question "The Tasks of the Republic Party Organization To Improve the Training, Placement and Education of Cadres in the Light of the Prospects of the Further Economic and Social Development of the Georgian SSR." The material of the plenum and its decree drew widespread positive comments from the republic's communists and exerted a direct influence on the activity of the management machinery. A broad range of problems was raised at the plenum: the rational use of labor resources, the training and improvement of mass occupation personnel and specialists, work with leader cadres and the style and methods of party, soviet, management and public activity. It was stressed that there was an urgent need in the republic for precisely such a formulation and comprehensive examination of the cadre problem.

The plenum analyzed the work with cadres on the basis of the Leninist principles of the CPSU's cadre policy and also in the light of the CPSU Central Committee decrees on the Georgian republic party organization. Following the adoption of the decrees, many areas of party, state and management work in the republic were reinforced with politically mature and morally stable people devoted to the party's cause, and there was an appreciable improvement in the quality of the leader cadres. This was of decisive significance for the achievement of the positive changes in the socio-economic potential, economic appearance and also in the sociopolitical life of the Georgian SSR. At the same time it was noted that, as before, the question of work with cadres remains acute in the republic. The reason for this is primarily the need to overcome the republic's continued lagging behind union-average indicators in level of general economic and industrial development and also the solution of the major economic and social problems put forward in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on the Georgian SSR for the 10th and 11th five-year plans. A more general cause of the acuteness of the problem is the fact that in the era of the scientific-technical revolution the intellect and professional and moral attributes of a leader exert an increasingly real influence on the development of the production forces and acquire material expression.

The practice of a detailed briefing on the professional and political attributes of workers recommended for positions on the official party list has evolved in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee at the time of cadre selection. Great significance is attached to references, of which it is required that they contain a comprehensively substantiated, in-depth, high-minded, objective and honest

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evaluation of the worker. The observations, recommendations and wishes expressed at the time of the interviews and confirmation in office are reflected in the personal acts of the workers on the official list.

The plenum drew special attention to existing miscalculations in the study and evaluation of cadres inasmuch as the mechanism of the quest for people possessing the qualities necessary for executive work does not always operate sufficiently effectively. Formalism and bureaucratism have taken root in this work and many mistakes are allowed to occur in many departments. There was emphasis on the importance in this connection of systematic work with the cadre reserve, the plan-based study of people, training and retraining and of checking them out in practical acts in order to constantly have a reserve of people capable by virtue of their conviction, level of professional training and moral-volitional qualities of taking on the accomplishment of new, more complex tasks.

The plenum observed that the existing system of leader cadre improvement in Georgia lacks coordination, specialization and precise planning; its material-technical base is extremely inadequate; insufficient highly skilled specialists are enlisted in teaching; and there is no proper monitoring of the fruits and practical results of the tuition. The plenum studied a plan for a uniform system of cadre improvement for the republic as a whole. An interdepartmental council, whose principal working body is the republic Institute of Management of the National Economy, was set up under the auspices of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to coordinate this work. Problem-single subject conference-seminars for collating the practice and experience of party and economic leadership are being conducted on a republic scale, schools of progressive experience have been opened on the basis of the best organizations and measures have been adopted to make the process of the cadres' independent studies more controlled and controllable. It is exceptionally important here that the leading workers constantly study Marxist-Leninist theory and participate most directly in propaganda and educational work. The plenum pointed particularly to the need to develop the traits of a state-minded approach in work and to decisively do away with manifestations of departmentalism and localism. The leader should be able to foresee the social, political and educational consequences of decisions, insure the unity of management and political work and pay more attention to an analysis of the processes occurring in people's hearts and minds and a study of their thoughts, hopes and aspirations. The report and the speeches drew attention to existing instances of criticism being acknowledged in words as being correct and of promises being given, but of the revealed shortcomings continuing. Such a relatively widespread attitude toward criticism as the following was also mentioned: it was not me, my enterprise, my department which was cited, consequently, it is nothing to do with me. It is necessary, the plenum emphasized, to learn to distinguish between genuine and imaginary efficiency, increase cadres' personal responsibility in every possible way and to demand the independent solution of questions in the entrusted area without waiting for instructions from above.

Questions of the style and methods of work of the republic's central executive authorities and of party leadership of the work of the soviet and management bodies and the public organizations were analyzed comprehensively. The participants in the plenum adduced instances of certain raykom bureaus adopting decisions of a purely economic nature without determining the political line and the role of the

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party organizations in their fulfillment. Bureaucratism and formalism are far from having been eradicated in the activity of various, including party, organizations. The trend toward an increase in the number of the working people's repeat statements being received by the local authorities testifies to this, in particular.

It was recommended that the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet formulate a long-term program embracing all aspects of the activity of the soviets aimed at a galvanization of the soviets in economic building, the solution of problems of socioeconomic development, satisfaction of people's growing day-to-day requirements and requests and fulfillment of the electorate's mandate. It was proposed that the republic Council of Ministers step up its influence on the state of affairs not only directly but also through the ministries, state committees and local soviet authorities and strive purposefully for an increase in their responsibility for performance of their duties and the use of the great rights and powers accorded them by the law in economic and sociocultural building, a strengthening of state discipline and the complete surmounting of manifestations of departmentalism and localism.

The participants in the plenum observed that in recent years the style of work of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat had been distinguished by a persistent struggle against the slightest deviations from the Leninist standards of party life and the principles of party leadership, genuine collegiality and the consideration of public opinion. An atmosphere of the free and frank exchange of opinions, comradely strictness and mutual exactingness has been established in the Bureau and Secretariat. The annual summation of the results of the work of the Bureau and Secretariat at Central Committee plenums has become a rule. The basic landmarks of the action program for the following year are determined simultaneously with the evaluation of their work. The Central Committee has commissions and councils for various areas of activity. Special work groups for organizing and monitoring the fulfillment of the most important CPSU Central Committee decisions are set up when necessary in the Central Committee and also in the Council of Ministers and other bodies. Hundreds and thousands of people are enlisted in preparation of the questions discussed at the Central Committee plenums, and the opinion of the broad masses on the most effective paths of a solution of the problems raised is studied. Use is made for this purpose of appeals to the working people via the mass information media; and members of the Bureau and executives of the Central Committee meet with representatives of the working strata of the population and the labor collectives. In addition, the specific study of public opinion with respect to special programs is practiced. The number of publications of decrees of the party and state authorities and the material of plenums, sessions and various conferences has grown. Marked positive changes have also been achieved in the organization of information from below. At the same time the plenum posed the task of strengthening and developing the positive trends in the work of the Georgian Communist Party Bureau, Secretariat and machinery and further refining the style and methods of work of the soviet and management authorities and the public organizations in the spirit of the requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress.

As is known, in addition to the social, we have a skilled state auditing machinery and departmental supervision authorities. In order for the supervision to be comprehensive and objective the party organizations are called on to inculcate in the communists and nonparty people employed in these bodies a sense of a high-minded,

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irreconcilable attitude toward the least attempts to defraud the state, lax management and breaches of socialist legality. A study shows that the supervisory inspection boards of a number of ministries and departments have accumulated considerable experience. Systematic supervision of the length of time and quality of the execution of documents containing CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers assignments has become a firm part of the work practice of the USSR Gosplan's supervisory inspection board. Twice a month the inspection board notified the Gosplan chairman and his deputies of the progress of execution of assignments and presents monthly a list of documents with assignments of the directive authorities whose time of execution expires in the upcoming 15 days. The inspection board works in close contact with the people's control groups and stations. They report the results of joint checks at board and party and union committee sessions and at meetings in the departments. An automated control system which is also used for exercising supervision has been operating successfully for a number of years now in the USSR Ministry of Instrument Building, Means of Automation and Control Systems. With its help the effectors receive a reminder ahead of time of the approach of the time for execution of the assignments, the supervisory elements information on the progress of fulfillment of quotas and the management collated analytical data on the state of performance discipline in the subdivisions under its jurisdiction.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The CPSU in Resolutions...", Moscow, 1971, vol 7, p 212.
2. Ibid., vol 6, p 19.
3. PRAVDA 10 July 1953.
4. See "The CPSU in Resolutions...", vol 7, p 181.
5. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 7, p 22.
6. Ibid., vol 6, p 138.
7. "Material of the 24th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1971, p 94.
8. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," vol 54, p 446.
9. Ibid., vol 30, p 350.
10. Ibid., vol 42, p 325.
11. Ibid., vol 52, p 213.
12. Ibid., vol 50, p 274.
13. Ibid., vol 36, p 157.
14. Ibid., p 380.
15. Ibid., vol 39, p 45.

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16. Ibid., vol 39, pp 45-46.
17. Ibid., vol 37, p 365.
18. Ibid., vol 45, p 115.
19. Ibid., vol 45, p 112.
20. Ibid., vol 39, p 308.
21. "Material of the 23d CPSU Congress," p 71.
22. L.I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Lenin's Way], vol 3, p 316.

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